

GL 954.04
MAH



118480
LBSNAA



ए शास्त्री प्रशासन अकादमी
adur Shastri Academy
Administration

मसूरी
MUSSOORIE
पुस्तकालय
LIBRARY



अवाप्ति संख्या

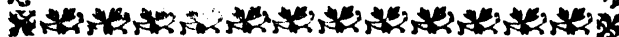
Accession No. 3735116460

वर्ग संख्या

Class No. 954.04

पुस्तक संख्या

Book No. Mah



THE INDIA OF YESTERDAY

BY
Dr. SYED MAHMUD

Translated from the Urdu original

BY
SYED ASADULLAH

With a Foreword by
Dr. NAZIR YAR JUNG
Retired Judge, High Court, Hyderabad.

**THE INSTITUTE OF
INDO-MIDDLE EAST CULTURAL STUDIES
470 AGAPURA, HYDERABAD, INDIA**

PRICE RS. 2.50 nP.

PRINTED IN INDIA
SHIVAJI PRESS, SECUNDERABAD

FOREWORD

I consider it a privilege to associate myself with this little work originally written by Dr. Syed Mahmud, formerly Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs, whom I have always looked upon as a great patriot and whose friendship I have enjoyed from the days of my youth. I am thankful to Dr. Syed Abdul Latif, President of the Institute of Indo-Middle East Cultural Studies, for the opportunity that he has kindly afforded me to write a foreword to the work of so valued a friend.

The series of discourses which comprise the volume were at first composed in Urdu in the Jail of Buxor in 1922 and appeared in the columns of the *Khilafat* the following year. This was subsequently issued in a book form in 1950 by the Nizam-i-Press, Badayun with a foreword by Mr. Ahiduddin Nizami and it is this which has now been translated into English under the auspices of the Institute of Indo-Middle East Cultural Studies, and issued in its series.

The aim of the work is to bring to mind the picture of India's past such as it really was, and to restore the perspective which had been deliberately distorted by British historians. The value of the work lies in the fact that the idea was conceived and carried out by a scholar who has been from his very youth in the forefront of India's struggle for freedom and who has, in the cause of his motherland, cheerfully borne immense personal sacrifices and the ordeals of repeated incarceration.

Dr. Syed Mahmud comes of a prominent Zamindar family of Azamgarh, Uttar Pradesh. In his childhood he was sent to the well-known public school of Etawah founded by the famous Mawlana Bashiruddin, one of the first Congress stalwarts who came into direct conflict with the British bureaucracy, as an advocate of the Congress

ideals, and suffered in consequence. The traditions of the school were imbibed by Syed Mahmud and these he carried with him to the M. A. O. College of Aligarh where through his social activities and his advocacy of a united single nation for the country, he earned the nick-name of "Qawm" (Nation). So popular was he among his fellow students of Aligarh, and so great was the influence that he exerted on his professors and the management of the College by his ability and level-headedness that he was chosen by Nawab Vikarul Mulk, the then Hon. Secretary of the College (a position corresponding to that of the Vice-Chancellor of the University today) as his personal secretary. That was the time when the British staff who, through their over-weening and imperious behaviour, had proved a nuisance both to the management and students, and had to be summarily sent back to England causing no small anxiety to the British Government of the day.

From Aligarh, the young Mahmud went to England. That was the time when our distinguished Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, was also a student there. How well did Mahmud acquit himself in England as an ardent nationalist yearning for India's freedom may be gleaned from Mr. Nehru's references to him in his autobiography. That he created a deep impression on some of the prominent publicists of the time in England by his frank distaste of the British imperialism in India, may be seen from the jottings which that grand old man of the time, Mr. Wilfrid Scarven Blunt, author of *India under Ripon*, and *The Secret History of the English Occupation of Egypt*, and a great friend of the Asiatics, makes in his diary. Says he: "Hasan (the present writer, known as Naziruddin Hasan) and Mahmud, two students from India, were staying with me in my country-house at Sussex talking a lot about bringing about a Revolution in India and turning out the British." He adds, "I am

sure these enthusiastic youths, like so many of their predecessors, will turn into big slaves of the British as soon as they land in Bombay”.

The prophecy of Mr. Blunt was not fulfilled; but the revolution dreamt of by the two youths did come to pass and the British quitted India.

On his return from England, he found that the political atmosphere in the country was charged with tensions and he threw himself heart and soul into the Khilafat and other movements sponsored by the Indian National Congress. His ability as a Congress worker was recognised by his being made the General Secretary of the Congress under the Presidentship of that great patriot and organiser, Pandit Motilal Nehru, with whom he shared the experiences of Jail life in different places. This early experience of Jail life was reinforced in subsequent periods of incarceration imposed on the members of the Congress Working Committee during the concluding years of the national struggle.

Any work therefore that is produced by a scholar-patriot of the rank and integrity of Syed Mahmud should inspire confidence and draw respect.

The plan of work delineated in the following pages does not follow the usual method of historic narration. It is set in the form of a dialogue between students or of discourses by a senior member prompted by searching questions by junior members. The scene is set in the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, the atmosphere of which in the time of Dr. Mahmud was charged with the spirit of free enquiry and research, Mahendru Pratab, Shiv Pershad, Tassaduq, Abdur Rahman, and others are not mere fictitious names coined for purposes of the subject. Some of the names are really those of the students who were actually engaged in studies at the institution. They together survey the entire field of India's past history. The facts are marshalled by Abdur

Rahman in a manner calculated to dispel the wrong notions which had been inculcated in the minds of Indians by historians whose aim was to sustain the British imperialism in the land by dividing her people into rival camps, one hating the other. It is to thwart this policy of 'divide and rule' that these discourses were designed. The idea was to create a consciousness among the Indians that their past was not ugly, but that, on the other hand, it was worthy of emulation even today, that they had all lived together in the past as members of a single family following one common way of corporate life which had come to be regarded as the "Hindustani way". The reader will, after a perusal of these brief discourses, appreciate that no other plan of presentation could have succeeded so well as this in the purposes kept in view by the author.

The publication of the matter contained in the volume was called for imperatively in 1823 when the British Government was trying frightfully to keep the Hindus and Muslims apart from each other. Its publication in a book form was also necessary again in 1950, when, after the tragedy of partition, the people of the land had to realise that notwithstanding this aberration in history, they were a single people. That need has to be nursed even today. Hence the present publication. The work deserves to be translated into every Indian language. In fact, the Hindi version of it is ready for the press, and will be issued in the Institute's series in due course. It is the preservation and sustenance of India's common heritage which has to form the guiding policy of this great republic of ours. That is the only way to counter the fissiparous tendencies which have raised their head in the wake of the division of India or of the so-called Re-organisation of Indian states on a linguistic basis. Indeed, that such is the aim of the leaders at the helm of affairs is manifest from the tender recollections of this heritage which our

great President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, has recorded in his autobiography and which I may appropriately repeat here just to emphasise the value of the work in hand, and the message it offers to the country.

Speaking of the days of his childhood, says he :

"I began schooling when I was five or six, along with two of my cousins, the eldest of whom was Jamuna Prasad, our leader in games and boyish pranks. According to custom, a Maulvi Saheb had to initiate us into the alphabet. On the first day he began our education in the name of Allah and an offering was made to him. Sweets were then distributed to all around. (Autobiography, Asia Publishing House, 1957, page 7)

* * *

Our study of Persian, meanwhile, progressed. In six months, we picked up the Persian alphabet and started reading the *Karima*. Then the Maulvi left us. Another Maulvi was appointed. He was a serious-minded man and a good teacher. He taught us for two years and we completed the *Karima*, *Mamkima*, (*Ma muqiman*) *Khusha hal*, *Simiya*, *Dasturul-Simiya*, *Gulistan*, *Bos'an*, etc. Thursday afternoons and Fridays were holidays for us. During those days, we learnt counting and picked up the Kaithi script. (p. 8).

* * *

As one could see, religion permeated the village life, and there was perfect harmony between Hindus and Muslims. Muslims would join Hindus in the boisterous festival of Holi. On the occasion of Dashara, Diwali and Holi, the Maulvi would compose special verses. We, children, would draw beautiful paintings on sheets of paper and the Maulvi would inscribe on them his verses, an interesting hotchpotch of Persian and Hindustani. We would then go and read them out to our parents who would give us some money to be presented to the Maulvi. We would commit the verses to memory and sing them during the festival.

Hindus participated in Moharrum by taking out Tazias. The Tazias of the well-to-do Hindus in Zeradei and Jamapur were bigger and brighter than those of the poor Muslims. These Tazias were eventually taken to Karbala. On the way, people would raise slogans of Ali and Imam and play gadka. The atmosphere would be surcharged with enthusiasm and all distinctions between Hindus and Muslims would disappear. When sweets were distributed, everyone would put out his hand, but the Hindus would not take water from a

Muslim. The Muslims, however, understood Hindu sentiments and did not mind it." (p. 13-14)

Dr. Syed Mahmud has to his credit a number of writings dealing with literature, politics and history. But in my humble judgement, this small brochure of his surpasses in value every other; for, the purpose which it is intended to fulfil is a high and noble purpose. Luckily, for him, he had for his translator a talented writer, Mr. Syed Asadullah, whose translation of another equally small but great work, the *Gita and the Quran*, by Pandit Sunderlal, was published only a few months ago in this very series of Indo-Middle East Cultural Studies.

It is, however, my painful duty to strike a sad note in this connection. A couple of weeks after the translation of Dr. Mahmud's work was completed, Mr. Asadullah had a heart attack and he passed away quietly in sleep on the 19th July 1957. The work therefore is a posthumous publication. Throughout his life, Mr. Asadullah was a staunch believer in the cause of India's freedom. From the days of his youth when he was on the staff of the *Swarajya* of Madras conducted under the auspices of the late Sri Tanguturi Prakasam, right up to the days of his editorship of *The New Era* and *Hyderabad Herald* which he edited in Hyderabad some years ago in a very trying atmosphere, he proved to be an outspoken and straightforward publicist. May his soul rest in peace! I have no doubt that the achievements of his last days, the English translations of the *Gita and the Quran* and *The India of Yesterday* will perpetuate his memory.

In writing this valuable work, Dr. Mahmud has served the cause not only of historic perspective, but also of communal harmony in the land. *The India of Yesterday* deserves to be read by every student of Indian history.

Hyderabad-Dn.
December 1957.

NAZIR YAR JUNG

THE INDIA OF YESTERDAY

Mahendru Pratap, Tasadduq Ahmed, Hayat, Jawaharlal, Majid, Mahmud, Ahmed, Shiv Pershad, Baqi, Muhsin, Shamshad and Masud — all these were students of the Entrance Class of the well-known Aligarh College. They came from different provinces of India, and yet were sympathetically attached to one another. In the evening, they used to gather at room No. 46 of Morrison Court (where most of them were staying), and indulge in laughter and friendly talk. Mahendru Pratap, Jawahar and Shiv Pershad were staying in a separate boarding house where arrangements had been made exclusively for Hindu students. Occasionally in the evening, they used to take a walk together toward the old fort. They had some friends among the students of the higher classes too, such as Abdur Rahman, Azizur Rahman and Badruddin. Abdur Rahman was a student of the M.A. class, while the other two belonged to the F.A. class. Occasionally, the latter two used to have discussion on various topics with their other friends. Mahendru Pratap was being classed with industrious boys, and yet he could not remember his lessons in history, nor would he find interest in that subject. Jawahar and Ahmed were strong in history. Hayat and Shiv Pershad were not interested in the history of either the Hindu or the Muslim period, while they took intense interest in that of the British, so much so, that they had made by-heart the grand names of all the Viceroys. Poor Mir Saheb, Mir Vilayat Husain, who died on July 18, 1949, and who was the teacher of history had tried his best to help Mahendru Pratap remember history so that he should get through his examination. But all his efforts had proved futile.

One day it so happened that Jawaharlal, Mahendru Pratap, Hayat and Tasadduq Ahmed stirred out together for a walk after their school hours, and at that time Mahendru Pratap seemed depressed. Mir Saheb had punished him that day for his having failed to remember his lesson in history. Jawahar asked him why he should feel so depressed especially when such a punishment at schools was not an unusual incident. Thereupon Mahendru Pratap told him that he was not depressed on that account, and that the cause of his depression was something else.

Hayat : Why not you laugh off your depression. After all, Mir Saheb is our teacher. He is just like our father. To get angry with him for his warning is foolish.

Tasadduq : Hayat, this is not the occasion to indulge in jokes (Turning to Mahendru Pratap)

You were just telling us that the cause of your depression was something else. Have you received any letter from home ? I hope every member of your family is alright.

Mahendru Pratap : Yes, every one is alright. There is nothing to be worried about. What is occupying my mind today is quite a different thing.

(Pressed by his friends, Mahendru Pratap continued.) There is so much of stir everywhere about Swaraj. Huge meetings are being held, and speeches delivered. Mahatma Gandhi says that he will not rest until he got Swaraj.

Jawahar : Then what is there to worry about ?

Mahendru Pratap ; (Turning to Tasadduq) Have you ever thought what Swaraj really means ?

Tasadduq : Yes.....Swaraj.....No.....I don't know the meaning of Swaraj. Mahatmaji and others probably mean by it that in our country, Indians will be the judges and collectors and that they alone will be governors of the provinces.

Jawahar : And the Indians alone will have the right to make their own laws and run the administration of our country.

Mahendru Pratap : Do all of you think it to be good.

Jawahar, Hayat, and Tasadduq : (Simultaneously) Certainly ! Why not ? Don't you like that we should have swaraj ? Do you think it is not a good thing ?

Mahendru Pratap : No, certainly, I do not think it to be a good thing,

Hayat : You seem to be a fool. Why is it not good ?

Mahendru Pratap : (Addressing Jawahar) You know Indian History very well. In our class, you are regarded as a good scholar of Indian History. Have you ever thought how disgraceful is the record of our past ? A sense of shame comes upon me whenever I happen to read our history. That is why I find it of no interest to me.

Tasadduq : Why do you feel ashamed of it ?

Mahendru Pratap : You ask me the reason why ? Don't you know what the actual condition of India was when the Indians themselves were ruling over it ? No regular and authentic history of the Hindu period exists at all. Stories and fables, quarrels over caste differences, fights between Rajas over petty things, and accounts of untouchability, the superstitious practice of Sati and similar social abuses fill the pages of our history. The country

was divided into hundreds of petty principalities. Every small Raja fancied himself to be the overlord here. None loved another; nor did any one think of improving the condition of the people of the land.

Tasadduq : What is all this that you are saying ?

Mahendru Pratap : Am I telling you anything untrue? Now, look at the condition of India during the Muslim period. It was marked by the general slaughter of Hindus, destruction of temples and resting houses, and by selfishness, indolence, and extravagance. How could any country prosper under such sickening conditions? The entire country was in ruins. There existed no judicial courts to dispense justice. The kings and their officers lived the life of dacoits. They lived beastly lives. There was neither provision of education nor of personal security for any one in their time.

Jawahar : No ? See what a good king was Akbar !

Mahendru Pratap : We agree that Akbar had some good qualities. But in what way does the mention of a single name serve the purpose ? The Muslims more or less ruled the country for a thousand years. Out of such a lengthy period, you could pick out only one man. When such were the forbears of the present Hindus and Muslims, what will you expect of them when they will come into power or enjoy Swaraj? They will plunge the country into chaos. Don't you see how often they fight each other in these days ?

Hayat : (Addressing Mehendru Pratap) You seem to be a profound philosopher and historian ! You can even teach Mir Saheb history ! Where does your knowledge of history go, while you sit in the class room ?

Mahendru Pratap : Hayat ! you indulge in jokes, I know, I cannot remember the names of kings and dates, and their useless quarrels. But I always ponder over the deplorable state of things existing in the past.

Hayat : No, I am not joking. You speak the truth. See how Lord Bentinck stopped the old custom of Sati by a single stroke of his pen ; how Lord Cornwallis introduced a sound system of land tenure in Bengal and Behar ; how Lord Curzon introduced useful reforms and appointed Commissions ; how Lord Minto punished agitators and issued the Press Act, gagged revolutionary newspapers, and restored peace and order in the country.

Jawahar : (who was quietly listening to the talk of Mahendru Pratap silently)

Whatever you say is certainly recorded in history. But I have heard from my father that in the Muslim period the Hindu Muslim relations were cordial and fraternal. There was no communal tension. There was prosperity in the land. The people were growing rich, and trade and industry were in a flourishing condition. Well ! We shall find out the reality about these tomorrow from Mir Saheb.

When their talk had reached this stage, Abdur Rahman, Azizur Rahman, Ahmad Shah, Shiv Pershad and Badrudin were seen coming from the opposite direction, and when they joined the party, Hayat said that as the time for Maghrib prayer was nearing, they should return to the College immediately. Else, he said, the monitor might fine them. But Tasadduq interposing recounted all that had been said by Mahendru Pratap and asked for Abdur Rahman's opinion thereon.

Abdur Rahman : was an expert in history and was himself writing a history of India. He smiled at Mahendru Pratap and said : "Well, it is satisfying that after all you have given a thought to the question. With much pleasure, I shall speak of the history of India and try to dispel your doubts." On hearing this, the entire party with one voice assured him that all of them would gather at his place at his convenience and hear his lecture. The next day was Friday. On Fridays, there used to be holiday for half a day. It was therefore decided that all the friends would gather in his room at Pukhta Barrack, No. 6. Then all of them returned together to the College. Mahendru Pratap, Jawahar and Shiv Parshad went back to their bungalow, and the rest went to the mosque for offering Mughrib prayer. In the night, when Tasadduq referred at the dining table to the incident of the evening, everyone of them expressed the desire to attend the lecture of Abdur Rahman. The next day they went to Pukhta Barrack, No. 6 exactly at 2 P. M. and Abdur Rahman was there to receive them.

THE FIRST DAY

There were not as many chairs in the room of Abdur Rahman as there were visitors, and having therefore removed the chairs aside, they all sat on the floor. There were a few books and some note-books before Abdur Rahman. He sat in a corner with a thick red pencil in his hand; and the eyes of all the visitors were fixed on him. At 2-20 he commenced his lecture.

Abdur Rahman: Mahendru Pratap, I am sorry I cannot give a detailed talk on the Hindu Period. I have not studied the history of that period sufficiently well. You had better consult some others on that period. Professor Abdul Majid or Mr. Ambalal may satisfy you. I shall, however, give you a broad outline of that period. Listen to me attentively.

You see, the history of your country is not so dark as you think it is. The religion of the Hindus is very ancient. Even before the foundations of Egypt and Greece were laid, the edifice of the Hindu religion was complete. If we call the Hindu religion a collection of all religions, it will not be wrong. The foundation of this religion was not laid by one person or in one period. It was constructed by different rishis and leaders of thought born at different times during a lengthy period covering several thousand years. If we wish to find out the salient features of this religion and appraise the greatness of its thought, we shall have to ponder over the learning and the life-doings of rishis and other god-fearing men who contributed to the making of it. We will find therein a beautiful picture of the Unity of God. Idol worship is as distant from this religion as it is from Islam itself.

Shamshad: What is it you say? Every day we see the Hindus worshipping idols made of stone and believing in many deities. The concept of the Unity of God is utterly foreign to them.

Shiv Pershad: This is a fact. It is idol-worship and the worship of trees and hundreds of superstitions which have spoiled the Hindus.

Hayat: Well! you had better give it up, and grow civilized! (At this remark of Hayat, all those present burst out into laughter, and Shiv Pershad felt somewhat embarrassed).

Abdur Rahman: I am not surprised at Shamshad's observations, because most of our Muslim young men know little of the religion of the Hindus. But, the remark of Shiv Pershad not only surprises me, but it also grieves me. Well, listen. It is true that the Hindus of the present day do worship stones, and ignorant folk do regard certain human beings as God. But the fact is that true Hinduism upholds the Unity of God in its purity, and regards it a sin to believe in multiplicity of diety. Perhaps you have heard the name of Allama Al-Beruni. This Muslim learned man came to India during the time of Mahmud Ghaznavi, and having stayed here for several years, learnt Sanskrit and made himself proficient in the learning of the Hindus. Learned pandits recognize him as an authority on Hinduism; leave Muslims alone. There is none today even among the Hindus who may claim to surpass him in his grasp of the Hindu faith. Al-Beruni writes: "Although the Hindus are called idol-worshippers, idol worship, in fact, is prevalent only among the common people, and not among the sensible. The latter worship only one God — who has neither a beginning nor an

end. He is Omnipresent. He is the Pure. He does what He wills. He is the All-Powerful, the All-wise, the Giver of life, the Ruler of the Universe, and its Protector. He is unique in his sovereignty; there is none like Him. It is such a God that the sensible Hindus worship." Now, Shamshad. I ask you, is Muslim conception of God in any way different from this ?

Shamshad: No. I have heard my father describing God in the same terms. Do the Hindus, then, believe in one God. It is a surprising revelation to me.

Abdur Rahman: Allama Abul Fazal, who had intimate knowledge of the Hindu way of life, writes as follows: "I have enjoyed the company of many learned Hindus, and learnt of the beliefs of people belonging to various Hindu sects. The results of my research, I have embodied in my book the 'Ain-e-Akbari' so that the wise among the coming generation may compare the thoughts of the ancient people of India with those of Plato, Aristotle, and the Greek sophists without any prejudice, and find out the truth. The ancient books of the Hindus contain many highly valuable instructions."

About the Hindus he writes :—

"The inhabitants of this land are worshippers of God, kind-hearted, friends of the poor, cheerful, of good disposition, wise, industrious, just, patient, hard-working, efficient; and faithful, Their real worth comes out in moments of crisis. These people believe in one God. Those who worship idols made of stone or wood, and other things are ignorant people. They, no doubt, do regard their worship as idol worship; but I have learnt from many a Hindu scholar that some of the

worshippers of one God do look upon images as but objects of concentration on the One God, and that it is in this condition of concentration that they think of One God and seek Him, and praise His purity as superior to every other form of purity. The Vedas are the sacred books of the Hindus which were written at different times. The real teaching of Vedas aims at the Unity of God. The conception of one God is repeatedly emphasised therein, One slokam says: "There is none worthy of worship but one Iswara." Another slokam reveals: "People call upon the One God by different names such as Indra, Matha, Varuna and Agni. But He is the Absolute One". Ordinarily, people think that God sometimes appears in the shape of man, and such a man is called Avatar. Avatar means a special person. Strictly speaking, all human beings are avatars of Iswara. But all of us are not called as such. On the other hand, he who is most pious during his lifetime, is considered and regarded after his death as an Avatar. Avatar does not mean that God (Iswara) himself has been born in the shape of a man. The point may be clarified by any Hindu in the manner of the following complets :—

"Call not Adam (human being) God, for Adam is not God. Yet Adam is not different from the light of God"

"Godly men are not God; but they are not separate from God".

Jawahar : What is the meaning of the last Persian line ?

Abdur Rahman : It means that godly men are not God ; they are not separate from God either. They are the lines of a Sufi poet.

Among the sacred books of the Hindus, the Rig Veda is the earliest, the greatest part of which is occupied by invocations and praise of God. But in these, there are many passages from which we gather a good deal of information about the religion of the ancient Hindus, their language, their learning, their social life, their culture and civilization. From the Rig Veda and the other Vedas it is known that the Hindus were a civilized people, whose moral life, habits and manners were like those of cultured men, and that in their mind there was fear of God, as well as, the zest to do good to others. They performed many a great deed, and made considerable progress in the field of learning. The Hindu philosophy which will always redound to the credit and honour of India and indicate the spirit of Hindu devotion to God, as well as, the character of their high culture, still serves as a source of inspiration to civilised countries. Europeans learnt much through the Greek agencies, and still derive considerable benefit from the Indian Philosophy. The famous German philosopher Shopenhauer's philosophy rests on the foundation of Indian philosophy. There is no European philosopher who has not directly or indirectly drawn upon the Hindu philosophy. Not only did the Hindus make progress in the field of philosophy, but they also made a great advance in the art of music. They invented eighty-four tunes, each expressing a particular emotion. Their names were suggested by the seasons of the year, and were therefore keyed to their different moods. In painting too, the Hindus had made a remarkable progress. They used to draw beautiful battle scenes on walls. In sculpture, they did good work. They did not neglect architecture. In weaving, they were experts. They made the finest variety of

cloth. In agriculture and the art of war, their progress was no less advanced. In the art of poetry and drama, their progress was considerable. Story-telling was their specialised field. Some of the works produced in Arabia, Iran, and Europe show the impact of Hindu influence. Who is not aware of the famous story book of Badpai ? Who has not heard the name of Panchatantra ? Charity, politeness, courage and nobility of disposition were the special qualities of the Hindus.

Shamshad : I have not heard any Hindu ever being charitable. All Banias (traders) and Mahajins (merchants) are Hindus. All Marwaris too are Hindus. They charge heavy interest and suck the blood of the people. They are so miserly !

Abdur Rahman : No, Shamshad. You are mistaken. There have been generous Hindus who have given away their wealth and even Kingdoms in the name of God. To give alms to the hungry is a duty with the Hindus, as it is with the Muslims. I shall quote an example of the noble-mindedness and courage of the Hindus from history. A single example will do to give you an idea of what they were. Listen to me with attention. You might have heard the story of the battle of Kurukshetra.

Shamshad : What ? I have not heard.

Abdur Rahman : You have read in history an account of the battle of Mahabharat.

Shamshad : I know something about that battle.

Abdur Rahman : Well ! This battle was fought on the field of Kurukshetra. When the army was arrayed for battle, Yudishtar and Arjun emerged from their lines and having thrown away their armour, they advanced in

plain clothes towards the enemy forces. The enemy forces were naturally surprised at this. They thought that the other side did not intend to fight, and being afraid of their rival army, was anxious to make peace with them. The forces on either side stood spell-bound at this unusual and daring action. The two went straight to the tent of Bhishma Pitamaha and Dhrona Achariya who were commanders of the enemy forces, and having placed their foreheads on their feet, addressed them: "O revered sirs and teachers! We are your humble pupils who have had the benefit of your instruction in the art of war. It is our misfortune that we are forced to unsheath our swords against you, and, that you are likewise forced to draw your swords to strike down your own pupils. We have no complaint to make against you, for, we appreciate the circumstances which have forced you into this situation on account of your broken word with our enemy Duryodhan. We may submit to you that we tried our best to come to terms with our enemy, but failed. We therefore are forced to resort to fighting. When we are thus forced to fight, we have thought it to be our duty first to pay our respects to you as your obedient pupils, and take permission from you to stand against you in the ensuing battle. Even if we had to fight, against some other enemy, we would never have begun the fight without your permission. As now we have to fight against you, we request you kindly to permit us to take up arms. Unless you permit us, our swords will not be unsheathed."

Bhishma and Dhrona Acharya were greatly moved at this display of dutifulness toward one's teachers. They lifted them up, embraced them with tears in their eyes,

and blessed them, and said! "You depart. We give you permission to fight with all our heart. You have already achieved success when you came to your enemy unarmed with such courage and such noble sense of dutifulness."

Today, Yudhistara and Arjun are no more, and even the ashes of Duryodhan are untraceable; but the noble deed of the sons of Pandu is still fresh in our memory, and shall continue to be so till the end of this world and bear witness from generation to generation to the nobility of the Hindu mind. This will demonstrate the fact that Hindu rulers in the past would not abandon their characteristic noble behaviour even under the stress of their enmity with any of their rivals.

After this incident, the battle, as you know, did take place. It was this which ultimately led to the destruction of much of what was fine and noble in the country. It greatly deterred progress in education and arts. It considerably weakened India, and this weakness invited periodic invasions from abroad.

I am afraid I have left the thread of my talk by entering into too many details. I shall give you only a broad outline of history. Else, you may get tired and the real aim of my lecture may thus be lost. A famous Arab geographer, by name Al-Aweti, who had come to India had occasion to record his opinion of the Hindus of his time. I shall give you a gist of what he had said, and then finish today's talk. He writes:

"The Hindus are by disposition inclined toward justice. They are an industrious people. They are good natured and honest. They scrupulously keep the promises they make. They have gained such a reputa-

tion for their high qualities, that people gather here from all the four corners of the world, and their country, therefore, is progressive and prosperous.

Mahendru Pratap : But now everything is quite the reverse. Why is it so ? Now, in all the civilized countries, the idea is current that the Indians are liars, intriguers and quarrelsome people.

Hayat : And Lord Curzon says that the Indians are incapable of speaking truth.

Abdur Rahman : To some extent these remarks are true. It is useless to refute Lord Curzon. But this much, I may say that we have developed many weaknesses which are causing anxiety to our leaders. Try to understand why this is so ? It is due to our present subjection. When one nation is subjected to another, such evils imperceptably creep into the life of the subjected nation, and when these evils are not eradicated speedily they undermine the very foundations of society.

Ahmed : By this, do you mean to say that in order to improve the life of a nation, is it necessary for that nation to be self-governing ?

Hayat : And does it also mean that the Indians should strive to get swaraj as soon as possible, and that unless this is achieved, the Hindus and the Muslims will lose their individuality, and cease to exist as a nation.

Abdur Rahman : Certainly, it means that. The religion of the Hindus aims to make of a Hindu the embodiment of tolerance. It asks him not to enquire what a person is, whether Hindu or Muslim or Christian or Parsi or Jew or Buddhist, and to treat all of them as God's creatures and to regard that everybody can attain salvation through his own religion.

Just then, the servant brought tea and placed it before them. Shamshad said: "Let us have tea first. 'Eat first and talk afterwards' is an old saying."

When all the friends were taking their tea, the old Muazzin from the minaret of the mosque raised the call of prayer: "God is greater than all." The call of the Muazzin stirred the minds of the listeners. Finishing the tea hurriedly, the Hindus left for their bungalow, and the Muslims having performed ablution went to their mosque.

THE SECOND DAY

Abdur Rahman's speech produced very good effect upon his listeners. To their great surprise, the Muslims had learnt for the first time that the Hindus too believed in the existence of one God, and that they were reputed for their fine culture and polite manners.

When all the friends, gathered after Jumma prayers in the room of Abdur Rahman, he enquired of them whether they had any questions to ask on the previous day's lecture. As they were anxious to hear his further talk, they did not like to waste his time by asking questions. But Shamshad somehow could not resist his temptation to put a question.

Shamshad : When the Muslims came to India, the Hindus had neither culture nor polite manners. Consequently the Hindus used to put on only a single dhoti and to walk about bare-footed. They used to dine sitting on the ground. How then could they have spread high culture in the world?

Abdur Rahman : Whatever Shamshad has said is true. But trifling things such as you have just mentioned do not constitute culture. The intellectual progress which the Hindus had made thousands of years back is traceable even today. For the past three thousand years, the literature of the Hindus is still intact. Although in modern times a great advance has been effected in the fields of literature, arts, industries, and inventions, it will be but fair to state that the progress which the Hindus could make in early times when means of material progress were so limited, should be regarded as surprisingly remarkable. Europe has no doubt

invented several means of physical comfort and luxury ; but it has not contributed to the comfort of the human soul. On the other hand, Hindu civilization has pointed the way to achieving contentment and peace of mind.

Take their literature. Their poetry is very sweet. It stirs the human heart. It demonstrates their elevated taste. Their mystic lore, their erotic poetry, and their great capacity for expression in Sanskrit excite wonder. Their mythology is vaster than that of the Greeks and Romans or of any other people who worshipped demigods and images. A study of it will reveal that the Hindus not only looked upon objects of nature with reverence, but also regarded them as worthy of worship. In short, during their days, whatever they did, it was more than what other nations did in the past ; so much so, that even after the lapse of so much time, their achievements are held in high esteem by European scholars. In mathematics, philosophy, logic, music, astrology and medicine, they made such remarkable progress that the world not only gives them the praise they deserve, but regards them as pioneers in these fields of learning. Those who are conversant with Hindu literature will readily endorse that the Hindu literature presents the story of a definite pattern of human progress.

Mahendru Pratap : Abdur Rahman Sahib, no doubt we feel happy to hear you. But what you say is not intelligible to the average man. Tell us only things which we can easily grasp.

Abdur Rahman : Mahendru Pratap ! What you say is true. I entirely forgot that you were studying in the entrance class. You should be given only bare facts. In ancient days, the dyeing and printing of cloth was a common

cottage industry. It was done in fast colours. Steel also was made, and also glass of high quality.

Shiv Pershad : It is Europe that has taught us how to make glass and steel.

Abdur Rahman : May be. Their finish might have been rudimentary, but they did make glass and steel in those ancient days. Ships also were constructed in India, and people were engaged in trade on a wide scale. You might have heard of the name of Prophet Suleyman, mentioned in the Bible as Solomon, the Wise. His ships used to come to India and take from here sandal wood, spices, silver and gold, and peacocks. There were trade connections with Arabia and Egypt too. The mummies of Egypt used to be wrapped in the Indian cloth. The pearls presented by Julius Caesar to the mother of Brutus and the pearls attached to the ear-rings of Cleopatra had been obtained from India. The famous world centre for diamonds was also India. The famous diamond, Kohinoor was of India. An idea of the economic prosperity of ancient India can be gauged by the statement of facts presented by Hiuen Tstang. He describes Valhabbi (Valhappur) in West India in the following words: "It is a thickly populated city. People live in pomp and splendour. There are nearly one hundred families here who possess crores of rupees."

Ahmed : These things present a different picture. We hear that the country was wild, bereft of culture and civilization, that people starved, and that it is our present government who has made us cultured, and provided us with fine cloth made in Europe, together with various other means of comfort, including hospitals.

Abdur Rahman : Well, Well ! Yesterday, I was telling you that after the battle of Mahabharat; the condition of the country deteriorated so much that the Brahmins forgot their spiritual duties, that the martial spirit of the Chatriyas was wasted in internecine fights, and darkness spread all over the land, and that in consequence outsiders began to invade the country. It was at the end of a long series of invasions that the Arabs came to Sind through Makaran in the eighth century. The cause of their invasion was that the Raja Dhar of Sind had looted Arab ships anchored at Vibal now known as Karachi. When Muhammad Qasim, the commander of the Arab forces, conquered Sind and informed of his conquest to Hajaj (the Governor at Basra), the latter issued orders to Muhammad Qasim as follows: "Strive for the welfare of the subject people. Give protection to every one who asks you for it. If learned Hindus come to you, give them gifts of costly apparel and accord to them honourable reception. Keep the promises made, lest your broken word and your misbehaviour spoil the name of Islam. Of every one who believes in one God, and is loyal to you, protect intact his wealth, and his honour in exactly the same manner as you would do your own. And fight him who fights you till he submits to you. Spend the entire revenue on the welfare of the people of the land. Remember that the prosperity of the farmers, artisans, merchants and professionals is the prosperity of the country. Show sympathy and kindness to the people, so that they might in turn show you respect. Differentiate between the good people and the vicious. If you enter into treaty relations with any Raja, fulfil scrupulously its conditions."

This was just like a charter which Muhammad Qasim received from his governor. He stayed in Sind for about three years, and during this short period, he extended the state of Sind up to Multan.

It is worth remembering that when Muhammad Qasim ordered an attack on Multan, a Hindu general, by name Khanna, was in command of his forces. In Multan, there was a famous shrine revered highly by the Hindus of the land. Qasim did not pull it down. On the other hand, with the permission of its priests, he paid a formal visit to it. Now listen! When the entire country was conquered, how did he administer it, and how did he treat the Hindus? At that time, the Muslims were mere foreigners. They were indeed conquerors. Will it not surprise you to learn that Muhammad Qasim appointed as minister, Sagar Brahmin, who as the Minister of Raja Dhar had resolutely fought against him? Can you easily get such examples in the history of any other people? Muhammad Qasim considered him as his elder, and willingly followed his advice, and placed implicit trust in him. So long as he stayed in Sind, he never crossed his wishes.

Mahendru Pratap : This event presents the other side of the picture. Such a treatment of a subjected people, and so great a trust placed in them at the time when conditions in the country were still unsettled, are a clear proof of the magnanimity of the Muslims.

Abdur Rahman : Certainly, you speak the truth. But you should not forget that this fact furnishes the proof also of the high and noble qualities which the Hindus had shown to win the hearts of the Muslims.

Mahendru Pratap : But even now they are the same Hindus. Still, why is it that such things do not happen now-a-days?

Abdur Rahman : You find out the answer for yourself. After the conquest of Sind, Muhammad Qasim distributed twelve dirham of silver per head among all the merchants, artisans, and farmers of the land as compensation for possible loss of property and tools during the days of the conquest.

Shiv Pershad : Is that a fact? I had heard some one saying in my house that the Muslims looted all the silver and gold belonging to the Hindus.

Abdur Rahman : What I have said is a fact of history. There are many facts of similar nature which I have hardly the time to state. Now, to continue. After this, Muhammad Qasim turned his attention to the administration of the country. He appointed military officers to collect revenue. But his Brahmin counsellors advised him to appoint Brahmins instead, as they were better fitted for the task. Muhammad Qasim accepted their suggestion, and appointed only Brahmins to such posts, and every one of these officers was ordered to collect as revenue only what the people could willingly and easily pay. He further instructed them to attach more importance to the welfare of the people than to the collection of revenue. Indeed, he sent for the landlords and jagirdars who had been required to pay revenue, and assured for himself that his officers had not fixed any undue cess. He assured them that his officers would in no way trouble them while collecting the revenue, that they would even allow remissions wherever necessary, that their petitions would be heard

with sympathy and that their needs whenever expressed would be met immediately.

Hayat : Well ! This was not a good procedure at all. The Zamindars would have turned arrogant. The British Government does not treat its subjects in this way. Even during the time of famine, it collects revenue. If things are not done in this manner, people will revolt.

Jawahar and Ahmed wanted to refute Hayat simultaneously. But Abdur Rahman smiled, and stopped them with a sign of his hand, and continued :

Abdur Rahman : One day the Brahmin 'pujaris' of Sind collectively approached Muhammad Qasim and appealed to him saying : "Our temples need repairs. The merchants who were hitherto offering sacrifices and giving presents to us, have almost ceased to do so on account of their fear of you. The presents offered were our only sources of income with which we used to support our families. You have been kind enough to help all others except us. You returned the property of merchants, improved their trade, and provided sources of income to all. But you did not pay heed to our needs. Now we want you to force the Hindus to renew their sacrifices, and their presents to temples, and offer worship to their idols once again."

Poor Muhammad Qasim, when he heard this strange appeal, was a little perturbed ; for, as a Muslim, he could not encourage idol-worship in any way. He then reported the entire story to governor Hajaj. Hajaj replied immediately : "Came to know everything through your letter. Since the Brahmins have accepted your rule, and since they have promised to pay their revenue, we have no further claim on them. When they have become

our 'zimmi' or protected subjects, they have got every right to worship their gods. In matters of religion, no coercion is allowed. In their respective temples, they are free to pray in whatever manner they like".

'Zimmi' are those non-Muslims who live under the Muslim rule and the security of their life, property, honour, comfort, and welfare, therefore, according to Islam, is the direct responsibility of the Muslim government under whose protection they live. These Zimmies are not forced to do military service. For in return for the protection and peace which they enjoy, they are required to pay the compensation tax of Jazia.

Once the Arab government in Sicilly was attacked by an enemy. The Government did not possess enough strength to defend a city in the island, and so decided to vacate it. But the Government had collected one year's jazia in advance from its citizens to meet the expenses of defence. But as the responsibility of protecting the citizens for the rest of the year could not be discharged by the government, the Jazia collected from them was returned to them. History hardly presents such examples.

To continue. On receiving the reply of Hajaj, Muhammad Qasim announced that all the temples all over Sind would be repaired at the expense of the government, and ordered that three per cent of the revenue derived by government should be allocated for the support of the Brahmins, as was being done during the regimes of the Rajas, and that out of that amount aid should be given to the Brahmins according to their normal needs, and that the rest of the amount should be kept in reserve to meet any extraordinary expenses which they might incur in future, and that

its account should be maintained separately, and that the people should be allowed to construct their temples, and their idols in whatever manner they liked, and to worship their gods in whatever way they pleased. Muhammad Qasim then called for the head of the Brahmins and presented to him valuable garments, and conferred on him the title of Rana.

Jawaharlal : Abdur Rehman Sahib, are you telling us facts of history or mere stories and fables ? I have often heard my father praising Islamic governments, but these facts appear to me as stories and fables. If these are real facts, why are we not taught these in our schools ?

Abdur Rahman : You speak the truth. Hundreds of such historic facts are now regarded as mere fables. On the other hand, veritable fables have been given such wide currency that they are now accepted as actual historic facts by the general public. This is indeed our misfortune. To blame the foreign rulers is not proper. For, in what way is their interest served by including such facts in the history which is taught to you in your schools ?

Mahendru Pratap : Muhammad Qasim repaired the temples with the government money and reserved three per cent of his revenue to help the Brahmins, and issued a general order to construct temples etc., in whatever manner the Hindus liked. Have such things taken place anywhere else under Muslim rule ?

Abdur Rahman : Hundreds of such examples can be easily quoted from the history of several countries under the Muslim rule. If they were but two, four, or ten, we can cite them easily. But why should you think

of seeking such facts in the history of other countries. You can find hundreds of them in the history of your own country. I shall relate these to you later on. Numerous grants of Jagirs to temples and of stipends to their priests were made by Muslim governments, and even the cost of ghee and candles used for lighting in temples was met by them.

When Mahendru Pratap heard these facts, he was wonder-struck, and sat for sometime in perfect silence, as if lost in thought or pondering over what he had heard.

Shamshad: But it was clearly a mistake on the part of the Muslim governments to have treated their subjects with so much of tolerance and generosity. I don't like all that. Just see how our government (British Government) keeps its subjects at a distance and within bounds. If any one crosses the line fixed for him, he is summarily punished. No one dare cross it. The thing is that the Indians do deserve such a treatment.

Hayat: Then, may that government prove auspicious to you! (All of them laughed at this remark. Shamshad got angry).

Abdur Rahman: Shamshad! Don't get angry. You have spoken in such a stupid way that no one can avoid laughing?

Shamshad: What is my stupidity? The Indians undoubtedly know no manners. They can not use fork and knife. At parties, they eat clumsily. They do not know how to talk to English people. They speak wrong English and while speaking, they go on scratching their head. How can we expect Englishmen to treat such semi-barbarous people with respect?

Shamshad, who was really a good hearted young man was fond of the English way of life. Since he was still young, he fancied that it was a sign of fine culture to put on suits, to speak correct English, and to imitate the English etiquette as carefully as possible.

Seeing that Shamshad was angry, Abdur Rahman (who was silent for sometime), looked at him smiling, and told him not to get easily excited. As Abdur Rahman was the senior-most among them, and was highly learned, everyone used to respect him. When he smiled, Shamshad reciprocated the smile, and within a few minutes, he forgot the unpleasantness of the incident.

Jawaharlal : Abdur Rahman Sahib, it is unfortunate that before you could finish your talk, this unpleasant incident should have happened. Kindly continue your talk. We are all anxious to hear you.

Abdur Rahman : Before I continue the account of Sind, I want to tell my dear friend, Mian Shamshad, that he should not forget the fact that the English culture is quite different from the Indian culture. For example, in our country it is not objectionable to walk bare-footed or to cover the body with a single sheet of cloth. But among Englishmen, this will pass for barbarism. The culture of a country is usually the product of its climatic and various other factors. If, therefore, some Indians cannot properly adopt the cultural ways of any other country, they cannot be blamed. But to abandon the cultural ways of one's own country is certainly not proper. To pay respect to our elders or teachers, to treat our friends with love and courtesy, and to show kindness to youngsters are some of our ways, and it is not proper to give them up. It was customary with our

elders that once they made anybody their friend, they stood by them throughout their life. Even death would not sever the tie. It was upheld and continued in the succeeding generations. The children of a friend used to be treated just as one's own, both during his lifetime and after his death, and the children themselves used to regard the friend of their father as their own father. In this way, the same relationship continued from generation to generation, and all members of the families on either side used to regard one another as members of one and the same family. I have myself witnessed an old man showing the utmost respect to a youngman by deferentially addressing him as "Ustad Zada" (the son of the teacher). His manner surprised me a good deal. On enquiry, I found that the great grand father of that old man was the pupil of the great grand father of that young man some hundred and fifty years ago, and this feeling of respect was inherited and continued among his progeny. The fact moved me so much that tears rolled down my eyes and I could not check them for some time. Maybe, you will laugh at me.

(At this stage the voice of Abdur Rahaman grew tremulous and tears filled his eyes).

It pains me to know that such noble features of our culture are being abandoned, and in their place we are merely imitating shabbily the English ways of life.

Now take the question of the English language. It is undeniably praiseworthy to learn foreign languages. But for every one, it is not necessary to attain proficiency. Nor is it a matter for reprobation, if one does not attain it. Barring the Russians, the Indians maintain a higher

record than others in mastering the technique of the languages of other people. Next to them come the Germans. But the English people usually come last. Have you not noticed that, notwithstanding the fact that their whole lives have been spent on the Indian soil, few Englishmen can speak one sentence correctly in any one of our languages. They are quite unaware of the difference between even such common words as "Aap" and "Thum" (you and thou). In the matter of picking up the accent and intonation of a foreign tongue, the Indians stand ahead of all other nations. None else can pronounce foreign words so well as the Indians do.

The truth is that unless education is imparted through the medium of one's mother tongue, real progress is not possible. The Government of the Nizam had understood this secret, and at the Osmania University, apart from languages, all arts and sciences are taught with ease through our own language.

You would not have heard one Englishman accusing another Englishman for his lack of knowledge in our native languages. It is only our misfortune that we regard as educated only those who have received their education through the medium of English language, as if our Moulvis and Pandits who have a mastery over Sanskrit and Arabic and Persian and possess knowledge of diverse branches of learning, are but ignorant.

Sorry, I have digressed ! (Continuing) I have been speaking of Sind. In view of the exemplary treatment of Muhammad Qasim, most of the Rajas and Zamindars came forward of their own accord to offer allegiance to him.

After the fall of the fort of Brahminabad, a number of Hindus were brought as prisoners to Muhammad

Qasim, Those who accepted his rule, were released and their property was restored to them. In this way, no one in Brahminabad was deprived of his house and property. Those who succeeded Muhammad Qasim, upheld his policy. They protected the famous temples of Multan. A part of the state revenue was always ear-marked for the maintenance of temples and for stipends to the Brahmins who looked after them, and for feeding the poor who gathered there. All this happened as far back as the eighth century. The toleration displayed by the Arabs is more praiseworthy; because, unlike the European ruling classes of today, they were not indifferent to religion, but were a highly religious people, and adhered to their own religion most zealously. Among Europeans, the pursuit of trade and of gathering of wealth is religion. Do not therefore call their indifference to religion as toleration. So, now-a-days, no one cares to know what goes on in temples and mosques. On the other hand, in the twentieth century, if you interfered with trade, you were visited with dire punishment.

Now listen ! Kaksā, who was a learned man, was appointed by Qasim as Revenue Minister, and was loved and respected by him. Whenever Kaksā attended the Darbar, he was seated in front of the throne as a mark of high honour.

Khaksā had been accorded the title of “ Mubarak Mushir ”. Qasim had issued orders to all the government servants to bring to him any learned Hindu they come across, so that he might have the chance to help him by bestowing on him favours and honours, and that if he needed employment, to appoint him on a suitable post. He instructed them to levy the lightest possible tax on

merchants. He divided the country into several administrative areas for the convenience of the people, and appointed suitable officers for each unit. Besides Sisavar and Kaksa, there were Mekar and Kaka and other Hindus occupying high posts in the State. One of them was Minister for law and justice, and another for the army. In fact, these four Hindu officers were actually governing Sind during Muhammad Qasim's time. All the high posts in all the departments were occupied by the Hindus. The trust placed in the Hindu officers was so great that even the highest posts in the army were held by the Hindus, and Muslim officers had to work under them. When after three and a half year's stay in Sind, Muhammad Qasim was called back by the Khalif, the Hindus were immensely grieved. As a mark of affection for him, they set up a statue for him at Kairaj, and worshipped it for a pretty long time.

Shamshad: That is not strange. Even today statues of Viceroys are set up in India and funds are collected for the purpose.

Hayat: And Lord Curzon's statue is erected at Calcutta.

Jawaharlal: Shamshad! don't you distinguish between them?

Majid: There is a lot of difference between the two. It will be a pity, if one does not understand it.

Tasadduq: (Interrupting the conversation) Every one understands it, and does not need an explanation.

Mahendru Pratap: (who was anxious to hear the talk) Abdur Rahman! Please continue.

Shamshad: No, I have to ask him something further.

Abdur Rahman: Yes, do ask.

Shamshad : You just told us that the Hindus set up the image of Muhammad Qasim and began to worship it, and I agree that the incident indicates the height of his popularity. But it also shows how superstitious the Hindus are. Whatever comes in their way, they begin to worship it. Well ! Is man God that he should be worshipped ? It all looks so foolish and stupid !

Abdur Rahman : Shamshad, listen to me with attention. Pardon me, you only take a cursory view of things. If you pay a serious thought to it, you will see that what appears to you stupid is in reality an act of high-mindedness. Their worship of Qasim's image clearly shows what sincerity, love and goodness of heart they are capable of. You know that whatever good things that one finds in this world are really the attributes of God, as for example the qualities of pity and forgiveness, of fair-play and justice, of sympathy for the poor and depressed, of charity and courage etc.

All these are the attributes of God, and whomsoever He likes, He endows them with one or other of His innumerable attributes. In reality, the Hindus did not worship the outward form of Muhammad Qasim's body, but they worshipped his good qualities which were in turn God's own attributes. The Muslims too in a way venerated their Pirs and shrines of saints. If the Hindus irrespective of caste, creed or colour are attracted by a godly man and worship him, they really respect his virtues and not his earthly body. Man apart, they worship trees and animals. They worship the pipal tree just because it offers cooling shade to man. They worship the cow because it gives man milk for nourishment. Can such people ever prove ungrateful to their benefactor, or ever deceive any one ?

Now let go Muhammad Qasim. The Arabs ruled in Sind for nearly two hundred years. The secret of their success lay in the trust which they had placed in the Hindus of Sind, and in the friendship which they offered in return. Well ! I shall give you only a brief account of their history ; for it is not possible to go into detail in the time at our disposal.

1. The Arabs left the collection of revenue entirely into the hands of the Hindus.
2. The Arabs enlisted the Hindus into the State army, and appointed them to places of command under whom many a Muslim officer had to serve.
3. The Arabs considerably improved the trade of Sind. Imports and exports of goods were carried between Sind and Sistan, Zabistan, Khurdistān and Kabul, and ships used to come and go from China and Ceylon to Sind.
4. Those Rajas who agreed to pay tribute to the State were left free to rule over their lands as they pleased with perfect religious freedom.
5. The entire revenue collected under all heads never exceeded twenty-seven lakhs of rupees.
6. There were Qazis to settle the civil and criminal cases. But these Qazis used to settle the cases of Muslims only. The civil cases of the Hindus used to be settled by their own Pandits. Their criminal cases were submitted to their Panchayats for decision.
7. All religious customs and ceremonies of the Hindus continued to be performed unchecked throughout the Arab rule.

8. Several new temples were constructed at the cost of the State and hundreds of them were repaired.
9. Whenever any learned and competent Hindu was found, he was immediately appointed on a high post.
10. Hindus were appointed as Ministers.
11. The Arabs, after their conquest, treated the Hindus with kindness and love and they paid them so much respect that they soon became their friends and their well-wishers.
12. The Hindus followed their own religion without let or hindrance.
13. The Sindhi language came to be written in Arabic script.
14. The Arabs regarded the Hindus as equal sharers in the administration of the country, and this they did without looking down upon them as subject people. There was no post in the government which had been reserved for Muslims.

Mahendru Pratap : All this is indeed surprising. We have been hearing that the British Government have given high posts to the Indians, and that the Muslims, during the period of their rule, used to kill the Hindus and loot their property and wealth. Today there is not a single Indian Governor in India. The appointment of an Indian as a minister seems to be an impossibility.

Abdur Rahman : The foreign travellers who visited Sind during the period of Muslim administration and after, were always surprised at the prosperity of the land and

the progress made in trade and handicrafts. A famous traveller has given a list of one hundred towns with a detailed account of their trade, buildings and thier agricultural pursuits.

You have till now heard what all the Muslims did. Now listen to the account of how the Hindus displayed their noble-mindedness and virtues.

When Al-Masudi, the famous Arab traveller, came here, a great part of Sind was under the rule of the Hindus. At that time, a Raja called Balhara was the ruler. Al-Masudi writes that in Balhara's state Islam was being looked upon with respect and that Muslims in the state used to receive full protection. Ibn Hoqal, another Arab traveller, writes that in the state of Balhara, several Muslims were holding high posts in many cities, and that the Raja was highly appreciative of their services. Everywhere, there were mosques for the Muslims, and they were being allowed to perform their prayers openly.

Jawaharlal : Had not the Hindus done like this, they would not have been called noble-minded. How could they forget the favours which the Muslims had bestowed upon them.

Abdur Rahman then looked at his watch. The call for prayer had already been made a little while ago. But they were all so much absorbed in the talk that they did not take note of it. Abdur Rahman called his servant, and asked him to bring tea. The tea had already been prepared a little while ago. The tea over, the Muslims in the group performed their wazu, and started in the direction of the Mosque in the company of their Hindu friends.

The congregational part of the prayer was already over. The Hindu friends stayed in the courtyard talking about the interesting lecture delivered by Abdur Rahman that day, while the Muslims were engaged in prayer. The prayers over, they all went for a walk together.

THE THIRD DAY

On the next Friday, all of them gathered at room No. 6 in the Pakka Barrack. Everyone of them was anxious to hear the next lecture of Abdur Rahman. Mr. Abdur Rahman smiled. The smile as usual was fascinating. Turning toward Mahendru Pratap and Jawaharlal, he said :

Abdur Rahman : You have heard of Mahmud Gazanavi.

Jawaharlal : Yes ! I have read of him. He was a very cruel man. He used to slaughter Hindus. One may even say that he was a brute, and a highway robber.

Abdur Rahman : (Abdur Rahman smiled at this). You have certainly read much about the crimes he is reported to have committed. There is no doubt that he did much havoc in India. He took considerable wealth from here to his country, and he tried to give a religious colour to his invasions which were, however, purely political in purpose, and solely in the interests of his country. The fact is that he wanted to fight the Muslim kings of the West and needed to be represented as a champion of religion.

You must be prepared to know his virtues as well. As the saying goes : "You have spoken of his demerits : tell us something of his merits as well".

Mahmud was not a highway robber. On the other hand, he was a God-fearing man, a lover of justice, and a seeker of knowledge. He performed in his country many a noble deed. His connection with India was only as a conqueror, and of a temporary nature ; he did not settle down here. But look at what he was in his own homeland. That will give you an idea of what he actually was.

Mahmud was devoted to the advancement of learning. He, therefore, established a big University in Ghazni where scholars and poets gathered from distant lands. He used to spend every year four lakhs of rupees on the salaries alone of professors and poets. You will gauge the depth of his fondness for learning from a single fact of history. When he invaded Gwalior, the ruler, Raja Nand Rai, composed a poem and sent it to him. The poem was so fine and of so high a quality that Mahmud, his companions, and all the poets that were with him were wonder-struck. He was so pleased with the poem that he not only gave up the idea of attacking his capital, but he also presented him with fifteen fortresses and two serais. It is a strange event in history and a wonderful account of the triumph of poetry and learning. From this single incident, you can easily visualise the picture of the true Mahmud.

Now, listen to the story of his general massacres and forcible conversions in India! Will you not be surprised to know that during his whole lifetime he did not convert a single Hindu to Islam forcibly, nor did he order the slaying of any one before a campaign was over. Even the rebels who had been repeatedly pardoned were not slain, but were simply imprisoned. He never made any discrimination between the Hindu and the Muslim, while punishing for any crime. In the Punjab where he had established his rule, he never compelled any Hindu to embrace Islam. During his first attack on Lahore, there were many Muslims who fought against him on behalf of its Raja. When his father Sabuktagin conquered Punjab, he took with him to Ghazni fifteen select Hindus whom he appointed on high posts. Raja Tilak served Mahmud first as his

Mir Munshi, and then as the Commander of his forces. During the time of Masud, the son of Mahmud, Raja Tilak was the foremost nobleman among the nobility of Ghazni and held the title of Amir-ul-Umara or the Amir of Amirs or the prime nobleman. There was another Hindu, Savan Rai by name, who was the commander of Mahmud's army and who died fighting on behalf of Mahmud against the Muslims. Another Hindu, Nath by name, was a high officer in the army of Mahmud. Another military commander of Mahmud's forces, Biji Bai by name, was a close friend of Muhmud, and he commanded great respect at his Court. Biji Bai lived up to the reign of Sultan Mawdud. He was then living in Samir. Sultan Mawdud sent for him, and bestowed honours on him. In this way, there were many Hindus working both at his Darbar and in his army. You have already heard the account of Mahmud's friendship with the 'Raja of Khanauj. Mahmud's desire to attack Kalinger was simply to avenge the wrong done to his friend, the Raja of Khanauj. When he reached Kalinger, its Raja expressed his regret for the wrong he had done to the Raja of Kanauj Mahmud returned without launching any attack. Another attack of Mahmud was levelled against the Muslim ruler of Multan. At that time, Abul Fazal was the ruler of Multan, and had taken the initiative in fighting Mahmud. Almost all his raids were provoked by some one or other. I may not go into their details, for fear of wasting your time.

Mahmud used to wander over Gujrat, Punjab and Khanauj. But he never destroyed any temples there. Sultan Abul Fatah, who belonged to the Kharanti tribe had snatched Multan from the Ummiyah family, and had not only closed the Jamia Masjid of Multan built

by them, but destroyed the temple which was close by, a reference to which has already been made in connection with Muhammad Qasim's account, and constructed a new mosque in its place. When Mahmud captured Multan from Abul Fatah, he closed the newly constructed mosque, for the main reason that the place on which the mosque stood had been illegally occupied. He reopened for prayers the Jamia Mosque which had been closed by Abul Fatah and rebuilt the temple which had been destroyed and opened it for image-worship therein. This must cause you surprise. And this is done by one who is nicknamed the 'Idol-breaker'!

When Mahmud attacked Muttra, Kangra, and Somnath, of course, havoc was done. This because Mahmud was severe in retaliation. The Rajas of these places had persistently excited the people against him. So he wreaked his vengeance on them, and destroyed the temple of Somnath. But the fact deserves to be remembered: he did not destroy the temple of Muttra, just because it was a beautiful piece of art.

He never carried with him to Ghazni any Hindu prisoners from the Punjab. On the other hand, he set them free. But in the case of the prisoners of Kangra, he did not set them free. You may be knowing the story of the old widow. I shall tell you another story. Once a peasant reported to Mahmud that an officer of his army used to enter his house forcibly during night times and make love to his wife who happened to be very beautiful. On hearing this, Mahmud disguised himself and with a sword by his side came to the house of the peasant in the night, found the army officer asleep, put out the light and killed the officer. Having put on the light he looked at the dead officer, and wept and

expressed his gratitude to God, and called for water and drank it. The peasant stood aghast. Looking at his bewilderment he said to him :

“ I thought that in my kingdom no one would have had the daring to enter anothers’s house forcibly and hurt the honour of its owner except my own son or my nephew. So, I first put out the light, so that the very sight of either my son or my nephew might not prevent me from doing my duty. After I had killed the man, I called for light, and when I found that the dead man was neither my son nor my nephew, and was but some one else, I sighed a sigh of relief and wept in gratitude to God that no number of my family had been guilty of such a crime. I had made up my mind not to take water until I killed the criminal. When I came to your house, I was thirsty ; and that is why I drank water, only after I had discharged my duty.

Shyam Pershad : After destroying Somnath did he not take away its jewels ? He took away also its door made of sandalwood to Ghazni.

Abdur Rahman : These are mere fables. They are not based on truth.

Shyam Pershad : Are they mere fables ? In 1842, the British brought back the sandalwood gate to India with great pomp.

Abdur Rahman : This is yet another story not based on facts.

Majid : But Mahmud broke the idol of Somnath with his own hands and took with him all the jewels that came out of the hollow stomach of the idol. Perhaps some Muslim historians too have recorded this fact.

Abdur Rahman : Yes ! it is recorded in *Tarikh-e-Farishta* which was written six hundred years after the period of Mahmud. But research has revealed that no such jewels were ever found on the idol. The idol had no shape : it was a mass of stone in the shape of a lingam.

Now we have no time to dwell on further details of Mahmud's life. They do not concern us, or with the subject of our talk ; for he was not a native of our country. His position, as I have mentioned before was merely of a conqueror, and from that point of view alone, we should examine him. We should at the same time bear in mind the manners of those days. Now, I will recite to you two couplets of Mahmud which will clearly show how god-fearing he was.

“ A thousand forts opened their gates at the sign
of my hand ;

A thousand battle-fields, I won at the mere move
of my foot ;

But when death came trotting along, none of these
availed.

Lasting ? God alone is Lasting ! His alone is
the kingdom !

Mahendru Pratap : Despite all this, Mahmud took away so much wealth from this country that it was reduced to poverty.

Abdur Rahman : The wealth that Mahmud took away from this country did not form a mere fraction of the wealth that is passing away to foreign countries now-a-days in several forms, never to be returned back. The wealth that Muhmad had taken away was returned with compound interest. When Sultan Masud discarded Ghazni, and set up his capital in India, he brought back to India

not only all the wealth that Mahmud had taken, but also what had been collected from Iran, Khurasan, Kabul, Baluchistan etc. Masud died in India, and all his wealth thus passed back to India.

The Ghazni family of kings granted to the Hindus the same rights as they gave to the Muslims. The Ghazni and Ghorī families, unlike other foreign invaders, did not destroy or affect adversely the Indian culture or their social life. The services which the Ghazni and Ghorī families rendered to India should not be forgotten by any Indian. When the hoards of Saljuk Turks emerged from Turkistan, they turned their steps straightway towards India. Had they reached here, India would have been reduced to ashes never to rise again; for, wherever this hurricane swept across, utter destruction followed. It was on their account that the great Empire of Baghdad came to ruin. It fell never to rise again. All that the Muslims had so far accomplished at Baghdad was irrecoverably destroyed. The destruction done was so extensive that the Muslims of the Empire could never regain their original position. This hoard also destroyed various central-Asian and western Muslim states.

Who prevented this hurricane from reaching India? It was the Ghazni and Ghorī families who stood like a rock between them and India, and diverted it towards Baghdad. Their attempt to divert its direction from India actually brought about the destruction of a big Muslim Empire, and several prosperous Muslim States.

When Abdur Rahman had reached this stage of his talk, Mir Saheb, who was the proctor of the boarding house, came by, having inspected the boarding.

Seeing his students utilising their leisure hours in this way, he felt happy. Although Mir Saheb was an M.A., he was living his life in an old style, and modern manner of living and dressing had very little influence on him. He used to treat his students with parental affection, and his students in return used to respect him. Mir Saheb joined the gathering and spoke for sometime on the Hindu-Muslim relations. He was a staunch supporter of Hindu-Muslim unity and used to discuss, during his leisure hours, various aspects of this question. Tea was served. After tea, the party dispersed.

THE FOURTH DAY

After Jumma prayers the party of friends gathered as usual. Jawaharlal came a little late, and Abdur Rahman did not begin his talk until he arrived.

Abdur Rahman : At the close of the twelfth century, conditions in India had gone from bad to worse. Disunity, selfishness, and pride vitiated social life. No two Rajas could unite on any single issue. Everywhere internecine strife seemed to be the order of the day. The Raja of Central and Northern India regarded himself as the supreme head of all the Rajas. Prithviraj was the ruler of Ajmer and Delhi, and Raja Jaichand Rathore was the ruler of Khanauj. They were against each other. It was the Raja of Khanauj who invited the Sultan of Afghanistan to India. It is the law of life that whenever any ruling class indulges in excess of oppression, tyranny, and injustice, their state passes into other hands.

Thus it was that Shahabuddin Muhammad Ghori came to power in the land.

Shahabuddin was a renowned soldier of his time. He was God-fearing and just, and he always strove to improve the lot of his subjects. He had a great regard for the learned, and used to help them in all possible ways. After him, his general, Khutbuddin Aibak, consolidated the state of Delhi, and made India his home. Those who succeeded him are known as 'Slave Kings'. In this line, there were eight kings (in fact there were ten ; but two of them ruled only for a few months) of whom five became famous. Sultana Razia belonged to this family.

Khutbuddin was young and virtuous, frank and generous. He used to meet every one freely and without surrounding himself with kingly pomp or splendour. He set up the administrative machinery on a sound basis. In learning and wisdom, he was behind none of his time. Throughout Asia, he was known for his generosity. His name is even today a by-word for generosity. He had a beautiful personality.

After him his son-in-law, Shamsuddin Altamish, was unanimously chosen as king by nobles and learned men of the court of Kutbuddin. Many stories about his acts of justice are current. He was the first king who began to regard India as his motherland, and he tried to rule over this land, not as a foreigner, but as the son of the soil. At his court gathered learned men and poets from the different countries of the world, and created a new intellectual atmosphere in the land. Through mutual contact, the Muslims reaped from the learning and knowledge of the Hindus, and vice versa. Amir Ruhani, a great poet, was among his courtiers. Fakhrul Mulkh, Asami, who was for three years the Minister of a Caliph of Baghdad and who was reputed for his wisdom and sound knowledge, was appointed as Minister by Altamish. The combined efforts of such a good and talented Minister and such a noble-minded and just king increased the prosperity of the country.

Nuruddin Muhammad 'Awni, the author of *Jamiat-ul-Hikayat*, was also one of his courtiers. The stories of Altamish's justice soon spread far and wide. He had ordered that those who were oppressed should put on coloured clothes. At that time, it was a custom in India to put on white clothes. Whenever he sat in Darbar, and he happened to notice any one in coloured

clothes, he turned at once towards him, and attended to his complaint.

Thinking that usually crimes were committed during night hours, and that prompt notice needed to be taken of them, he installed two huge images of tigers at the gates of his residence, and hung by their necks an iron chain holding a huge bell, so that whoever sought justice in any part of the night, might unhesitatingly come and ring the bell to awaken him. Consequently those who suffered wrongs at the hands of others hastened to the place and pulled the chain at odd hours. The king would at once come out, and do justice to them. He ruled for 24 years.

Ahmad : Why was he called Altamish ?

Abdur Rahman : He was very fair and beautiful. Perhaps Aibak had given him that name, because of his beauty.

Ahmad : To what language does this word belong ?

Abdur Rahman : It is Turkish.

Hayat : What court fees were the seekers of justice to pay to the King?

Abdur Rahman : (Smiling) Not a pie! It was enough to submit the petition on a plain paper.

Hayat : Surely, a stamp at least was affixed to such paper ?

Abdur Rahman : No. No stamp was required.

Hayat : Is it possible that justice can be done without fees and stamp ?

Abdur Rahman : (Smiling once again) Quite possible. During the period of the Muslims, it was so.

After Altamish, his son, who was also very fair, virtuous, good-natured and kind-hearted, succeeded him ; but for all practical purpose, his mother was the ruler.

Finding him weak and foolish, all the nobles of the court soon deposed him, and placed his sister, Sultana Razia, on the throne. She possessed all the qualities that a strong and good king needed. She was highly educated, and knew the art of administration, since, during the lifetime of her father, she had the opportunity to engage herself in the affairs of the kingdom. Seeing that she was capable of carrying on state work, he had encouraged her in her talent, and whenever he went out on any adventure, he left her in the capital as his representative to run the administration. When asked by the nobles of the Court why he should do so, he said that he had no son as capable as she was to manage the affairs of the kingdom efficiently. Razia had a manly intellect and a manly heart. She conducted the affairs of the State on sound lines. In administering justice, she never made any distinction between men of high position and men of low position. The only drawback in her was that she was a woman. When the nobles set her on the throne, they thought that she being a woman, they could control her easily; but soon, they realized that she was a hard nut to crack. They therefore conspired together and deposed her.

Ahmad : She had been accused of favouring a slave. Was there any truth in the accusation ?

Abdur Rahman : There was absolutely no truth in it, nor was there any proof. In order to achieve their aim, the nobles had but invented this story. Razia ruled only for three years and a half. Had she been allowed to rule for a longer period, she would have left behind her as good a name as any other great and good ruler. In addition to queenly qualities, she had the great merit of being a good poet.

After her, came two kings to rule for a very short time. The nobles then set up Nasiruddin Muhammad on the throne. He was the grandson of Altamish. During his reign, he was reputed for his courage, wisdom, knowledge, learning and similar other good qualities. It was his conviction that whosoever, being able-bodied, did not work for his bread, did not deserve any bread at all. This saying of his is oft quoted. He was the friend of the poor, and a well-wisher of his subjects, and a promoter of learning and knowledge. During his time, Hindu-Muslim differences were practically unknown. In his court, there used to be held periodically a gathering of men of letters, scholars and men of good and virtuous lives; and he used to reward them according to their respective worth. He appointed Ghiyasuddin Balban as his Minister. At the time of his appointment, he told him; "I am placing my honour in your hands, and I am placing faith in you, and I therefore hope that you will not commit any act which you cannot account for satisfactorily before God". The Minister too took an oath saying that he would leave no stone unturned to do justice and help the oppressed, irrespective of caste and creed. In reality, the Minister did as he promised. Nothing escaped his notice.

Halaku Khan, who was the grandson of Changiz Khan sent his Ambassador to India. Whatever the aim or purpose of Halaku Khan, Nasiruddin Mahmud and his Minister drew their own conclusions. They received the Ambassador with such pomp and splendour that he was wonder struck to behold so much prosperity prevailing in the land. The Minister Balban himself went forward from Delhi with fifty-thousand cavalry men,

three thousand guns, and two thousand well-decorated elephants to receive the Ambassador.

In the court of the King of Delhi, there had gathered from Iraq, Ajam and Khorasan fifty five princes and kings who had escaped from the clutches of Chengiz Khan and Halaku Khan and sought refuge. Although Nasiruddin Mahmud lived as king with pomp and splendour, his private life was very simple. He had only one wife, and she used to prepare food for him with her own hands and used to perform all the household duties.

One day the queen said to her husband, Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud : "When I make bread, very often my hands get burnt. Please therefore get me a maid servant" On hearing this, the Sultan told her politely : "The royal treasury belongs to the people, and I have no right to take away anything out of it to provide you with a maid. Wait patiently. God will compensate for your trouble. The Sultan lived the whole of his life as a poor man. He earned his own living by making copies of the Holy Quran and selling them. He was a good calligraphist. He never took a single pie from the government treasury for his own personal use. Once nobleman of the Court purchased a copy of the Quran written by him for a high price. When he came to know of this, he was much grieved. Thereafter, they were sold at the market price without revealing the identity of the copyist.

After Nasiruddin Mahmud, his devoted Minister, Ghiyasuddin Balban, was placed on his throne by the nobles of the Court, since the Moghuls had by then commenced to invade India, a strong and wise king was

needed. The reign of Balban will always stand as a landmark in the history of India for his sense of justice. His reputation as a strong and just ruler spread far and wide, so much so, that the kings of Iran and of other states courted his friendship. He never appointed any one on a responsible post, unless he found him learned, and he had himself tested his character and temperament and ability personally, and found him suitable to the job. Historians agree that Balban's court which consisted of men of letters, scholars and poets, was in no way inferior to any other court of his time. These learned men had come to him from all parts of the world.

His son, Sultan Muhammad, who was later called Khan Shahid was reputed for his great learning. He had founded an association of men of letters in which literary discussions used to take place daily. Amir Khusraw was its president. Khwaja Mir Hasan was one of its members. Sultan Muhammad had made selections from the writings of all well-known poets running into nearly twenty thousand verses. This bulky collection revealed his taste and his fondness for learning and literature. This Prince sent a deputation of learned men to the great poet of Iran, Shaik Sa'adi, inviting him to India. On grounds of old age, the Shaik could not accept the invitation. But he sent a full set of his works to the Prince as present, and sent a letter eulogizing the high talents of Amir Khusraw. Another association composed of musicians, story-writers and dramatists used to hold its meetings at the residence of another son of Balban, Bughra Khan, who was himself an expert musician. The example thus set by the king and the princes was widely copied by the nobility all over the

country. Indeed, in every suburb of the capital city, various kinds of literary associations came into existence, and people in general began to interest themselves in literary pursuits. The Hindus used to take part in their meetings with as much zest as the Muslims, and in this way they came to know and appreciate each other's culture. The influence of the Hindus on the Muslims was so extensive and deep that a man like Amir Khusraw wrote several thousands of dohas in Hindi portraying the life of India and giving vent to emotions and sentiments so characteristic of the Indian people. From a study of poetry and books of those days, it will be known how the Muslims who had come from outside had begun to express their thoughts and feelings in Indian style and form, and to what great extent the influence of the Hindu society had affected the habits, the mode of living and the manners and customs of the Muslims.

I shall here relate two instances of Balban's sense of justice in his dealings with his subjects.

Once a nobleman who was Governor of Badayun, killed, in a state of intoxication, a Hindu servant. The Sultan had him flogged so severely that the Governor died in consequence. The other story is about the Governor of Oudh whose name was Haibat Khan. He too had killed a Hindu while drunk. His widow approached the King to seek justice. The same punishment was meted out to this governor also. He was flogged in a regular Durbar in the presence of all his courtiers, and handed him over to the widow to deal with him as she pleased. The friends of the governor paid the widow twenty thousand rupees, and she

released him. But out of shame, the man never stirred out from his own house until his death.

The Sultan often used to warn his sons that though they were dear to him, he could never forgive them if ever they committed any crime.

Twice a week, the Sultan used to go out with his army for forty or fifty miles for exercise, and to stage mock fights by way of giving military training to his soldiers.

Sultan Balban used to visit men of letters and give them valuable presents. He had so great a respect for the learned that on their recommendations, he very often granted remissions to farmers, and released people from civil jails.

When he returned to Delhi after suppressing the revolt of Toghrul Khan in Bengal, he wanted to slay all the prisoners of war, since he had been powerfully roused by the treachery of Tughlak Khan and his supporters. But the Qazis and his learned counsellors advised him to refrain from this act. On their advice, he not only refrained, but he also released them. The advice which he had given to his son reveals what great concern the Kings of Delhi showed for the welfare of their subjects and how careful they were in administering justice, irrespective of anyone's position, caste or creed, and how hard-working they were. It was because of their high character that great saints and learned men chose to settle down in India and make it their home—great men like Shaik Fariduddin Masud alias Shakar Ganj, Shaik Bahauddin Zakariya Multani and his son, the Philosopher Shaik Badruddin Arif Ghaznavi, Khutbuddin Bakhtiar Kaki, and Siddi Mawla.

Sultan Balban ruled for forty one years. His grandson Kaikhubad succeeded him. He was an extraordinarily intelligent prince. But he had bad companions, and spoiled himself. His father Baghra Khan was then ruling in Bengal. The meeting of the father and the son is described in Amir Khusraw's book *Qiranus S'adain*.

The party of friends who were till now listening to the talk of Abdur Rahman with wrapt attention suddenly bestirred themselves to put questions to Abdur Rahman, one by one.

Mahendru Pratap : Why did Sultan Balban inflict such severe punishment on the governors of Oudh and Badayun? Perhaps the two persons who had been killed by them were the relatives of the Sultan.

Jawaharlal : (turning to Mahendru Pratap) Don't you remember Abdur Rahman Saheb saying that they were Hindus, and that they were Hindus of low position. One was a sweeper and the other was likewise an ordinary man.

Hayat : What is mock fight? We have been hearing that these things were introduced in this country by the British.

Shamshad : That is right. The people of old days had no idea of physical recreation. Cricket, football, hockey, all these are the plays introduced into this country by the British people.

Majid : Did people of old have no idea of physical recreation at all? How strange!

Shamshad : Have I said anything contrary to facts? Are not these things introduced by the British?

Hayat : (addressing Shamshad) Don't you get angry. The whole world is the creation of the British !

Shamshad : (In anger) You ridicule me !

Hayat : In what way am I ridiculing you ? All these plays and physical exercises are the inventions of Europe. Even the Taj Mahal was constructed by them. The plans of E'temadud-Dawla and Jamia Masjid of Delhi were drawn up by them. The forts of Agra and Delhi were built under their supervision and advice. In India, it is they who first introduced the gun and the rifle. The establishment of workshops for the manufacture of guns during the Muslim period was entirely due to them. In short, they are the originators of whatever good things are found today. Just find out from Abdur Rahman Saheb whether I am telling you anything incorrect.

Tasadduq : You are just wasting time.

Jawaharlal : That is true.

Majid : Let Hayat and Shamshad be silent. Let Abdur Rahman Saheb continue his talk.

Abdur Rahman : (addressing Mahendru Pratap) During the Muslim period several times, nobles, princes and even heir-apparents, were severally punished for causing the death of ordinary persons. I shall relate to you such incidents later on.

Mahendru Pratap : Why does it not happen so now-a-days ?

Abdur Rahman : What do you mean by that ?

Mahendru Pratap : Take the case of the Punjab. Several hundred innocent people were shot. But none of those who killed them was hanged.

Jawaharlal : Hanging ? Not even an ordinary punishment was meted out. The governor of the time is drawing his pension now. The man who gave the order for firing received a huge amount for his reward !

Abdur Rahman : Don't you see the difference between the two ? Although the Muslim kings were Muslims, on account of their religion, but their flesh and bones were of India, in the atmosphere of which they had all been brought up and died.

Mahendru Pratap : But in matters of justice, they used no discrimination between Hindus and Muslims.

Abdur Rahman : That is true. After all, they were Indians, and both Hindus and Muslims were equal in their eyes. Both belonged to the same nation, although they professed their own respective religions.

Mahendru Pratap : It is therefore necessary that we should have a national government, if we want to maintain justice in our country ?

Hayat : Else, there won't be any need for Swaraj ?

Tasadduq : Then why do not the Indians get Swaraj quickly ?

Abdur Rahman : It is because they are not united. They lack in moral strength and in courage. No Indian is prepared for sacrifices. Whatever be the plight of the country, everyone is after his own personnel gain. No Indian has courage to die for the sake of truth. It is as difficult to speak truth here as it is to speak a lie in European countries.

Now, the question of physical recreation and plays remains to be answered. It is not true that only the British introduced physical exercises and out-door

games in the country. No one denies the fact that cricket, football and hockey were introduced by them. But every country has devised its own set of physical games and exercises. In former times, Indian Kings and nobles and sepoys engaged themselves for pastime in hunting and polo. Kutbuddin Aibak died of a fall from his horse while playing polo. Almost all the kings were fond of polo, and gradually sepoys and nobles used to play polo.

I told you before that there altogether ten kings in this line. in number, but I have now to correct myself. They were really eight, five of whom were great kings. This family ruled for eighty eight years, seventy eight of which were covered by the rule of the five great kings. It was a period of good government. The remaining six years were occupied by pleasure seeking weak kings. One merit of personal rule is that if the king happens to be good and just, it becomes an object of envy.

Presently tea was brought in, and soon, there was the call for prayer from the mosque.

THE FIFTH DAY

Next Friday at the appointed time all the friends gathered at room No. 6, Pakki Barracks, and without losing time, Abdur Rahman began his talk.

Abdur Rahman : On the last occasion I gave you a brief account of the history of the Slave kings. Due to the fatal illness of Kaikhubad, chaotic conditions prevailed in the kingdom, and the nobles set up on the throne his young son Kymus. But every nobleman was after securing power for himself, and consequently jealousy grew up between one another. Ultimately, Jalaluddin Feroz Khilji, who was holding a high and responsible post in the state, got the upper-hand; so much so, that the nobles agreed among themselves to instal him on the throne. In the beginning, the relations with him of some of the nobles were strained. But his good life, his piety, his sense of fair play and kind-heartedness, and his noble treatment of his enemies soon won them over. Among his ministers, Malik Khateer was the most learned and efficient man, and he was therefore made the chief minister. A certain nobleman belonging to the family of Balban rebelled, and wanted to be declared king. He actually issued coins under his own name. When he and the other nobles who supported him were defeated and captured and brought before Sultan Jalaluddin Feroz Khilji, the King covered his face with his kerchief, as he could not control tears flowing down his cheek at the pathetic condition in which they had been brought before him. He ordered them to be taken away immediately from his presence, and accommodated in a special tent pitched next to his

own, and have them washed and dressed in robes appropriate to their dignity, and brought to him attended with ceremonious honour befitting their position. He then invited them to his tent and requested them to dine with him. This treatment of them made them feel ashamed of their unpraiseworthy action. In order to enable them overcome their feeling of guilt and shame, he told them: "I was the servant of your family. You have not committed any crime, when you took to the sword against me in support of the head of your family."

Malik Ahmed, who was the son of the Sultan's sister, resented this kind of treatment of his enemies, and said to the Sultan: "You cannot preserve your kingdom if you behave like this. If rebels such as these people are not punished, who else should be? With eyes filled with tears, the Sultan replied: "My son, in my whole life, I have not killed a single person, and now in my old age, I do not like to commit such a sin. If I cannot rule the country unless I shed blood, I shall abdicate, and you may then select anyone for your king. I have not the strength to bear the displeasure of God. It is easy to meet wickedness: but goodness lies in meeting wickedness with goodness."

Whenever the Sultan got angry with any noble man, he used to warn him by saying that should his mistake come to the notice of his younger son, Arfli Khan, who was of irritable temper, he would punish him severely.

Ghiasuddin Balban, before he became king, had built a grand palace for himself, and continued to stay in the same palace even on his ascending the throne. Jalaluddin Khilji declined to reside in this palace, since it was the

private property of Sultan Balban and he had no right to it. He said that it should pass on to Balban's relatives. The Khilji nobles got irritated at this decision. But the Sultan said that he could not lay hold on anybody's property, for, his conscience would prick him. When the Sultan entered the palace, he did not sit on the throne, but he seated himself in the seat which he had been assigned in Balban's time. The nobles objected to this politely. The Sultan replied : "All this is true. My present position is the gift of God; but I cannot forget that kingship is a thing that comes and goes. It does not stay with any one permanently. It will stay with no one. The King too, just like any other man, is the humblest servant of God. He must not forget his real position".

The Sultan used to meet his old friends on the same terms as he used to do before he became a king.

Once, some of the nobles planned to murder the Sultan. One day they gathered at a house and began to speak ill of him among themselves. While they were engaged in devising ways and means of carrying out their evil intention, information was brought to the Sultan of the conspiracy that was being hatched. The Sultan got all of them arrested. When they were brought before him, he threw his sword in front of them, and addressed them : "I am an old man ; but let the strongest among you pick up that sword and come forward to have an encounter with me, and I shall see how you can kill me. All of them felt ashamed of their behaviour. The Sultan pardoned all of them and dined with them.

During the entire period of his rule, only one criminal was killed and that not under his orders. Siddi Mawla who was a great scholar and Darwish had

been accused of plotting against him, with a view to snatching his throne. Being a scholar, Siddi Mawla commanded great influence in the city. Thousands of his students were fed daily by him. He held discussions on Philosophy and other similar subjects. When he was arrested and brought into the Darbar, he did not admit the charge. But the King had been assured of his guilt. The judges held that since there was only one witness in support of the accusation and there was no second witness to endorse his statement, the accused could not be punished. Therefore the King addressed the audience present saying: 'I hand over the accused to you, deal justly with him'. Thereupon a man from the audience rose and slew him.

However unfortunate the upshot, the incident will reveal to you how just and frank and fearless were the judges of those days. The judges would not pass sentence even against political prisoners unless there was complete evidence of the guilt before them, although their decision might go against the interests of the established government. What is more noteworthy is that the King did not resent the decision of the judges.

Once, the Sultan left Delhi with his army to subdue the Raja of Malwa who had revolted against him. He sent word to him to yield; but the Raja would not. He besieged himself in his fort. The Sultan then surrounded the fort and issued orders to dynamite its walls from an underground passage. But he soon changed his mind, and ordered his troops to march back to Delhi, saying to his officers that it was not possible to capture the fort. Malik Ahmed Habib, his nephew, remonstrated: "What are you doing? I shall capture this fort very easily. You need not worry".

The Sultan sharply replied, "I too can capture the fort very easily. I have repeatedly told you, I do not like killing God's creation, and I cannot bear the wailings of orphans and widows." He then returned to Delhi.

The Darbar of this Sultan was the meeting place for scholars of the time. The State was studded with schools and colleges where thousands of students received education. These institutions received aid not only from the State, but also from many patrons of education among the nobility. The following are some of the names of great scholars of his Darbar: Tajuddin Iraqi, Khwaja Hasan Mued Dilwana. Amir Arsalan Kalami, Ikhtiaruddin Baghi, Baqi Khateer etc. Amir Khusraw was the Librarian of the State Library.

Mahendru Pratap : Were there libraries during those days ?

Abdur Rahman : There was always maintained a State library, and every king added to the number of volumes therein. Scholars were appointed to write books, and translate books from various languages. In those days, there were no printing presses, and consequently the works were all written in fair hand-writing. From this, you can appraise their zeal for educational advancement. The art of music was specially patronized. Amir Khusraw, Raja Umeed, Muhammad Shah, Fattu Shaw, Naseer Khan and Behroze were the well-known experts in music in those days.

Shiv Pershad : You had before this made a reference to music. Was music recognized as an art in those days ? I have heard that the Indians did not know this art, nor did respectable people interest themselves in it. The great proof of this is that music is now confined to mere bazaar people.

Abdur Rahman : There is no doubt that unfortunately it is not regarded as a respectable art : and the real reason is that it is monopolized by the common man and disreputable professionals, and that respectable people therefore avoid the company of such people. Hence this art is suffering neglect. During the Hindu period, great value was attached to music. During the Muslim period also, considerable improvement was made in this art. Kings and nobles used to give handsome rewards to talented musicians.

I shall now refer to two further incidents in the life of Jalaluddin. Once, the King suggested to his queen Malika Jehan : "You send for the Qazis, and suggest to them the idea of conferring on me the title of "Mujahed-fi-Sabilillah", because I have fought many battles against the Mughals and defeated them. The Qazis approved of the idea and enthusiastically approached the King with the proposal. But the King had already reflected over the subject. So, when the idea was broached before him, the King felt contrition and said : "I myself had suggested this idea to the queen, but afterwards I thought over it seriously. Now I feel ashamed of what I had done ; for, I fought these battles not for the sake of God, but for my personal ends and to extend my territory. How can I then bear such a title ?" He refused the offer.

You can deduce several conclusions from this incident. The King had fought battles with the Hindus too, but he had made no mention of them. Among Muslims, it is a rule that they should not fight against the non-Muslims, unless the latter slay them without just cause, interfere in the performance of their religious

duties, and even then, unless no other way is left to them to redress the wrong done except resorting to war.

There is another incident. This concerned a Hindu Zamindar who had injured Jalaluddin with his sword when he was but a chieftain of Kaithal. When he became King, the same Hindu was caught and brought before him for having committed a crime. The King said: "Release this man at once, lest my memory of the past might arouse in me the spirit of vengeance.

Now it will serve no purpose to speak any further about the sense of justice of such a King. You can yourself form an idea of how just he should have been in his dealings with his subjects. This king ruled for seven years and a half.

Shiv Pershad: The only thing known about Muslim kings was that they were a set of people knowing no better work than pillage and slaughter. We know only one good king, viz., Akbar. But you have shown us that the others were no less good than Akbar.

Jawaharlal: What a tragedy! The Hindus have been fed on distorted history in schools for several generations. Was it possible to oppress any non-Muslim during the reign of such a just king as Jalaluddin Khilji. It was certainly impossible?

Majid: Such a rule we can have once again. That is when we get swaraj.

Shamshad: It is quite easy, if we are prepared to prefer our country's interest to our own.

Shamshad: It will be a difficult job to give up our present comforts in the hope of enjoying something imaginary later on.

Abdur Rahman : Yes ! For us Indians, it is difficult. But it is easy for other nations.

Shamshad : There is such a national spirit among the Europeans ; but it is hardly found among the Asiatic nations.

Abdur Rahman : No ! Shamshad, that is not true. Take the case of the Turks. They have fought for freedom for over ten years and have suffered. But they are going on sacrificing their lives for the freedom of their country. They refuse to be slaves.

Shamshad : (who was fond of the Turks, despite his love for the European culture) How can the Indians and the Turks stand on the same footing ? The Turks must have imbibed their sense of freedom from the Europeans.

Abdur Rahman : Take the case of the Iranians. For the past twenty years, they have been fighting against colonial oppression with courage and fortitude. The Shia priests of that country have composed the differences between the Shia and the Sunni communities. The two are now unitedly making heavy sacrifices for the sake of their country. Take likewise the case of Afghanistan. Her people do not barter the interests of their community for any selfish personal interests. The example of Japan is already before you.

Shamshad : But the Indians will always continue to be selfish.

Majid : But why so ?

Shamshad : What I mean is this, that among the Indians, there is intense selfishness, and that they cannot sacrifice their personal interests for the sake of their country.

Abdur Rahman : But the evidence of history goes against your statement. There were many invasions into India,

and each time, the Hindus resisted these invasions with great valour. During the rule of the Muslims, this spirit of sacrifice was shared by the Muslims and Hindus together, and this is the reason why I call the Muslim government of India a national government. No doubt, under a foreign rule, the spirit of nationalism is repressed. Both the Hindus and the Muslims now share the depression. Till the middle of the 19th century, the spirit of freedom prevailed among the Indians. Since 1857, it has subsided.

When Abdur Rahman reached this stage in his discourse, the call of the Muazzin reached their ears. As usual they took their tea, and dispersed.

THE SIXTH DAY

Jalaluddin Khilji was killed by his nephew who after a while occupied his throne. He was a totally illiterate man. But once he became King, he devoted himself to the acquisition of learning so enthusiastically that he soon acquired the proficiency to take active part in the academic discussions of scholars which used to be held at the court. He made serious efforts to spread education throughout his kingdom which expanded as time went on. During his reign, considerable progress was made in industry and handicrafts by establishing factories and industrial concerns at government expense. There were already many industrial concerns in the kingdom. But he took care to open new ones in places where there were none already. The king personally fixed the prices of all commodities and essential articles, so that none dared to sell anything at a higher price. There was in his time a special department to control prices. Inspectors used to visit and inspect markets. Every day a schedule of rates for all articles used to be submitted to the King, together with a statement showing how much grain was sold and how much remained in the market every day. The result of this arrangement was that foodstuffs and other articles of daily use were obtained at costs within the means of the masses. The government servants, be they Hindus or Muslims, dared not accept bribe. The King used to give money to widows and children to go and make purchases in the market, and himself used to watch the merchants in disguise. If any shop-keeper happened to sell his articles at higher prices, he was punished severely. Strict control was maintained on weights and measures. In this way, separate cloth markets were opened, and the price of cloth fixed. Advances were made to merchants from the government

treasury to enable them to purchase grain and other articles at cheap prices from outside. The prices of not only grain and cloth were fixed, but also of other articles such as oil, fruits, vegetables, sugar, milk, butter, shoes, caps, combs and needles. At the time of fixing prices, the King used to take considerable trouble to study every possible detail concerning the articles in a spirit of research. He never neglected the interests of merchants also while fixing the prices. Throughout the country, there was consistent prosperity during his entire reign.

But the King was of an irritable type, and used to punish criminals with severity. One day, the King put some questions to Qazi Moghisuddin. The Qazi with great humility and respect said: "If I speak the truth, perhaps I may lose my life; and if I lie, I shall stand condemned before God". The King said "Don't fear, you speak the truth". Then he gave frank answers to all of his questions which were clearly distasteful to him. They were highly critical of his life and doings. The Qazi felt apprehensive of the reaction on the King. But the next day, the King sent for the Qazi, and gave him costly rewards for having spoken the truth, bitter though it was. The King said: If I am severe in punishing criminals, my aim is to establish peace in the country, and make it strong. But at the same time, I pray to God to be merciful to me, if I ever happen to err on the side of excess in administering justice.

Jawaharlal : In my text book on history, it is written that during the reign of this King, the Hindus used to be oppressed and the King used to loot their wealth and property. The revenue officers used to treat people with harshness, and insult them. Is there any truth in this statement?

Abdur Rahman: My dear Jawahar. This story has been given so much publicity that it is now believed by every one. The story is simply this. One day, the King is stated to have asked Qazi Moghisuddin how according to the Quranic injunctions the Hindus should be treated, and what tribute should be collected from them. The reply of Qazi Saheb, as ascribed to him, is very lengthy. Briefly, he is stated to have said: "Since the Hindus are the enemies of the Prophet of Islam, they should be treated harshly. There is an Islamic injunction that they should be slain".

Now what deserves our serious thought is this. Qazi Moghisuddin who, as already pointed out, was an outspoken man and a scholar. How could he now give such a foolish reply to the king? Neither Islam has given such an injunction, nor is there anything to this effect in the Shariat. The Europeans have invented this fable. Whatever the truth about the alleged opinion of Qazi Saheb, it is an undeniable fact that the King neither acted upon the Qazi's suggestion, nor did he pay to it any attention, as is clear from what he is stated to have said to the Qazi. The reply was: "I cannot understand you. I have myself seen my subjects living a peaceful and contented life. When they failed at first to pay the revenue due from them, I deliberately did not take any serious action. I said to myself that if I cannot conquer the hearts of the people, it is futile to conquer territories. So I treated them mildly and showed them kind consideration. The result is that I have won their hearts. So, how can I treat them harshly?"

One day Allauddin asserted in his Darbar that no one could defeat his army. There was at that time Nahar Dev, the Raja of Jalvar, present in the Darbar.

On hearing this assertion of the King, he rose and told the King to his face : "I can defeat your army. If I fail to do so, you may cut off my head". The King at once accepted his challenge, and asked him to return to his state and prepare for the battle. Thereupon, Nahar Dev collected a strong force for the encounter. The king sent his troops under the command of a maid Gul-Behisht to fight Nahar Dev. When Ghul-Behisht had almost conquered the fort of Nahar Dev, Gul-Behisht died of some illness and Allauddin had therefore to appoint another general. Just see how in those days even the household maids commanded armies, and fight with courage and fortitude. The incident also reveals the fact that the Hindus were free to speak boldly and frankly before Muslim kings.

Listen ! When once Ram Dev, the Raja of Dev Gut, having been defeated was brought before the king as a prisoner, the king greatly honoured him and gave him special presents together with 'chattar and Naqar Khana' which according to the custom of those days were the privileges of ruling princes only. Not only did he give him back his state, he also added to his territory three districts belonging to his own kingdom. The district of Nowseir which was near Gujrat was given to him for his private jagir. With all his merits, Allauddin was not a kind-hearted man. He killed fifty thousand Muslim Moghuls near Delhi. This shows his demerits. They were displayed equally in his relations with his Hindu and Muslim subjects.

Mahendru Pratap : Is the story of Rani Padmini a fact ?

Abdur Rahman : There is not the slightest truth in the story.
(On hearing this statement, the entire audience spoke

with one voice: "This is narrated in our history text book)."

The stories widely circulated are very often hardly based on facts, as for example the stories of 'The Well of Babylon' and the 'Laughing Wall' and others. This incident attributed to Allauddin is noted in *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* which was written three hundred years after him. But in the history of Berni which was written just fifty years after him, there is no reference to it at all. Just a little before *Ferishta* wrote his history, Malik Muhammad Jayesiy wrote his famous book 'Padmavat', which is still very popular in India. The author of *Tarikh-i-Farishta* lived in the Deccan and far away from Delhi. The story written by Malik Muhammad Jayesiy perhaps might have reached him and he might have believed it to be actual history. On the other hand, Berni lived in Delhi and had access to all authentic records concerning Allauddin's reign. This story of Padmini obviously is a poetic work of fiction.

Jawaharlal: Was "Padmini" written by any Muslim? This book is very popular among the Hindus.

Ahmed: What is it about?

Abdur Rahman: It is a book on Sufism and philosophy. The author, by relating the story of Padmavat, means by Chittor, human body. Hearing the reputation of the beauty of Padmini from a parrot, Ratan Sen, the Raja of Chittor, went in search of her to Ceylon in the disguise of a beggar, and he brought her from there. The story is allegorical. By Ratan Sen is meant the 'soul', and by Padmavat is meant 'wisdom'. By Allauddin is meant the human being. The entire story is a picture of true devotion or worship. You can now easily appraise its historic value!

Now, let us look to the actual history of Allauddin's time. It is recorded that in his time the people of the land lived in prosperity. Amenities of life were in profusion, as if they had sprung up by sheer magic. The land was studded with baths, forts and educational institutions. In no other King's time, the Darbar was so full of scholars and learned men as was in his days. In the Delhi Colleges alone, there were as many as forty-five renowned professors, each expert in his own subject. The Darbar was already crowded with poets and musicians. The following are the names of some of the poets of his time :

Amir Khusraw, Amir Hasan Sanjari, Sadruddin Aali, Fakhruddin Khawas, Mawlana Arif, Abdul Hakim, Shihabuddin and Hamiduddin. Here are a few of the names of famous saints of the time: Nizamuddin Sultanul-Awlia, Sheikh Allauddin, the grandson of Baba Fakhruddin Shakar Ganj and Shaik Ruknuddin Zakria Multani.

I shall now tell you a few of the names of famous Hindu scholars, all of whom were recipients of stipends from Muslim governments. They were :

1. Madhu Sarmati (2) Madhufan (3) Narayan Saram (4) Harji Sur (5) Damodar Sat (6) Ram Tirth (7) Narang (8) Prem Inder (9) Awf (10) Narayan (11) Madhu Bhat (12) Sri Bhat (13) Bashan Nath (14) Ram Kishan (15) Balidhar Misr (16) Basdev Misr (17) Yahin Bhat (18) Badja Nohin (19) Gowrinath (20) Gopinath (21) Pandit Kishen (22) Bhatta Charge (23) Kashinath (24) Bhagirath Bhatta Charge (25) Pandit Lanku (26) Panham Misr (27) Bhatta Charge Benarasi (28) Harnath Muhapithr (29) Gaganath (30) Mahakab Rai (31) Hamun Harra.

But let it be remembered that the Hindu scholars named above were those who flourished at the Darbars only of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jehan. If the names of all the Hindu scholars who distinguished themselves at the Darbars of Muslim kings, during the whole of the Muslim period, could be collected, the number will go up to several thousands.

The following are the leading features of Allauddin's regime :—

1. Grain, cloth and other essentials of life were very cheap.
2. A series of conquests ;
3. Vigilant defence of the country by combating successfully all Moghal invasions ;
4. Maintenance of a large military force at low cost ready for defence at all times.
5. Security of travel. Travelling was so secure that any one could travel safely with his wealth or merchandise from Bengal to Kabul and from Malabar to Kashmir without any fear.
6. Observance of strict business morality by merchants, industrialists and craftsmen.
7. Large assemblage of scholars and technicians in the land.

Allauddin Khilji ruled the country for ten years. He was succeeded by his son Kutbuddin. Khutbuddin was a good hearted and just king. But he had the weakness to patronize an ordinary slave and confer on him powers over and above those enjoyed by the nobles and the ministers of the Darbar. The name of the slave was Hasan and his title was Khusraw Khan. Khusraw Khan was a man of valour and courage and was also noted for his beauty.

He fought and won many a battle. At last he coveted the throne of his King whom he killed by deception and thus occupied his throne. How could the nobles of the Court tolerate such a man? Ghazi Baig Tughlak, the Governor of Lahore, advanced towards Delhi with a strong force and killed him. He then addressed a large crowd saying :

“Just like you, I am also a subject. I came here to punish Khusraw Khan for his crime. Now, you please select one of the princes of the Royal family to occupy the throne”.

All of them said : “Khusraw Khan has killed all the princes of the Royal family, and it is better that you should occupy the throne yourself.” Then Ghazi Baig Toghlaq became the King.

There were only three kings of the family of Khilji (excepting Omar Khan Khilji who ruled only for 35 days) of whom two were great kings of repute. This family ruled for thirty years out of which twenty five years were covered by good and great kings. The kings of Khilji family served the cause of India greatly by successfully resisting the frequent Moghal invasions and preventing the entry of the Moghal hordes into India. The Moghals had not till then embraced Islam ; and wherever they went, they plundered and slaughtered people and spread destruction throughout the land. Had these hordes conquered, India's culture and civilization might likely have been wiped out.

After this discourse, Abdur Rahman called his servant to serve tea. All the friends then took tea, and spent a few minutes in merry chat. Soon, the call of the Moazzin for Asar Prayer was heard and the Muslim friends began to prepare themselves for prayer. After the prayer, both the Hindu and the Muslim friends went out for a walk to the garden.

THE SEVENTH DAY

On Friday the friends gathered once again, and Abdur Rahman began his discourse :

Abdur Rahman : I am sorry, despite my efforts, I could not make the matter as brief as I liked. It was my aim to furnish the topics within six lessons. Although six lessons are furnished, yet much remains to be related. I assure all of you that I have tried my best to make my talks as brief as possible. Had I not done so, the entire subject would have taken more than one year to present.

Thereupon, all of them unanimously said ; “We are deriving much benefit from your talks. Please don’t hurry up things on our account”.

Abdur Rahman : After Khutbuddin Khilji, Ghazi Baig Tughlak sat on the throne. He is known as Ghiasuddin Tughlak. The king was a brave man, and a soldier too. After the murder of Khutbuddin Khilji, the administration of the country had deteriorated, and he set himself straight off to improve it, and was praised for this everywhere. He constructed new buildings, and repaired the old. He improved trade and created facilities helpful to its advancement. He invited to his Darbar technicians and scholars from distant lands. To carry on efficiently the civil administration, he codified the rules and regulations in force during previous reigns and amended them so as to conform to the customs and tradition of the land. A code of revenue regulations was freshly prepared for the benefit of the agricultural population, since he was very keen on improving the agriculture of his country. He was very

considerate in collecting revenue. It was his policy to extend the area piecemeal of cultivable land from year to year. The idea was to increase the production of foodstuffs and make the country self-sufficient. In the 'Toghlaknana' or the history of this king's reign written by Amir Khusraw, it is stated that this king never did a foolish thing, and possessed a very keen intellect. He ruled the country for about five years. He died as the result of the collapse of the building in which he lived.

Jawaharlal : His son had constructed this house for him. It was at his contrivance that the ceiling of his room gave way and fell on the king crushing him to death.

Abdur Rahman : This is not true. Berni who was the historian of his time writes that that the house was shattered by lightning. The story that Muhammad Tughlak had constructed the house to kill his father was a bazar gossip. Indeed, one historian writes that Muhammad Tughlak had prepared the house by means of magic, and that it fell on his father by the use of magic. On the other hand, Haji Muhammad Qandhari, a notable scholar supports Berni's statement. Ibne Batuta had heard this gossip from some one, and the European historians constructed their stories on the basis of Ibne Baltuta's story.

Mahendru Pratap : Till today, I took Muhammad Tughlak to be the murderer of his father. He was after all a mad man. I am glad, however, that he was not the murderer of his father.

Abdur Rahman : Now listen to the brief story of this "mad King". The reputation of his generosity had spread to other Asiatic countries and from everywhere scholars

and technicians used to gather in his court. He himself was a great scholar. He was an expert in calligraphy. He was very fond of using in his talk figures of speech, such as similies and metaphors, and was proficient in mathematics, astrology, and physisgnomy. He had a special aptitude for history. In learned discourse, he was unrivalled in his time. He had made a special study of Greek Philosophy, and was a great poet in Persian. With the scholars of his Darbar, he used to enter constantly into academic discussions on various topics. He was interested in medical science too, and had constructed numerous hospitals in his kingdom where some twelve hundred physicians were employed. There were some twenty two hundred musicians to train young people in the art of music, in the different parts of the state. Charity houses were constructed to deal out alms to the poor both among Hindus and Muslims. The King gave a great impetus to the spread of education in the country: and in the province of Delhi alone there were about one thousand schools. From this, one can easily guage the extent of the educational progress made during his time. Sometime, he used to visit hospitals to look after the patients, and whenever he came across any patient suffering from a serious illness, he used to discuss with the physicians in charge the details of the treatment given to the patient. His memory was so strong that after a single perusal of a work on history, he could remember every detail in the chronologiene order.

Besides being a great scholar, he was also a great warrior. He was both a soldier and a general. The people of his time used to regard him as a unique man.

He used to observe strictly his daily prayers and whenever he found any Muslim neglecting his prayer he used to punish him.

He never admitted to Darbars any buffoons or talkative fellows, nor did he ever take wine or commit debauchery. He was free from sinful excesses. Despite his great conquests, he was very humble in his behaviour. With the learned, he was generous ; so much so, that once, when he was pleased with the Qasida of a poet, he awarded a thousand gold coins for every couplet. This Qasida consisted of twenty seven couplets. Not only did he keep the scholars at home free from material want, he even sent monetary presents to scholars in foreign lands, and even invited them to settle down in his state.

Once during his time, there occurred famine in the province of Delhi, and several famine-stricken people began to gather in the City. The King came in person to their camp, and issued orders to distribute six month's provision to each villager from the government store. Every village accordingly received the requisite quantity of provisions.

Twice a week, he used to sit in Durbar to hear complaints and do justice. At the four gates of his residence, four prominent nobles or ministers were kept to let everyone seeking justice to have free access to the King. Everyone was free to state his case before him. Once a Hindu noble presented his case to the Qazi by complaining that the king had killed his brother without cause. The Qazi called the king to his court of justice. The king went to the Qazi on foot unarmed, and when he reached the seat of the Qazi, he saluted the Qazi, and showed his respects to him by standing

before him, until the Qazi permitted him to sit down. The king admitted his guilt. Thereupon the Qazi asked the king to compromise with the complainant, or else he would be forced to order him to be executed. The king effected a compromise with the complainant by giving him a huge sum of money. (At this moment, the voice of Abdur Rahman betrayed stress of emotion. The audience too reacted likewise.)

Now listen to another incident. Once a man demanded from the King a certain amount of money due to him. The King refused to pay him at the time. The case was brought before the Qazi. The Qazi summoned the king to his Court and gave the decree in favour of the complainant. The King immediately paid the amount.

How long are such incidents to be related? But I shall relate yet another one. Once, the son of a Hindu nobleman filed a case against the King stating that the king had beaten him without a cause. The Qazi issued orders to the king to the effect that he should bring the boy round, failing which the boy would be allowed to beat him in exactly the same manner as he had beaten the boy. Despite the efforts of the king, the boy was not prepared for any compromise. Then the king called the boy to a public Darbar, and handed him a cane, and asked him to beat him in the same manner as he had beaten him. The king made him take an oath not to hesitate in using his cane. The boy therefore gave him twenty beatings with the cane so that king's cap fell down on the ground.

These incidents are presented by the European and other historians as proof of his madness. May I ask

whether you can quote a single incident such as this from the history of any civilized nation of today?

Despite these merits, poor Muhammad Tughlak is held in disrepute. It was he who long before Akbar had stopped the custom of Sati in his kingdom. He gave high posts to Hindus both in his army and at his court. His time was marked by happy social relations between Hindus and Muslims. It is so strange that this king is now remembered as a blood-thirsty tyrant, although he used to be regarded as a just king until the time of Akbar.

Two charges are levelled against him. One is this. He treated cruelly officers who rebelled against him. There were twelve rebellions altogether during his regime, seven of which he personally suppressed, and the remaining five were quelled by his officers. In the first seven, one chief was killed in the battle-field, one absconded, and five were pardoned. Of the remaining five, four were executed by his officers without the order of the king. Only in one case, the king ordered the rebel to be executed, and he had strong reasons to do so.

The other charge is this, that he had fifteen Ulama or religious divines executed. Of these instances, two were mere accidents, and two were such that the king was in no way connected with them. Of the rest, eight accused had misappropriated religious funds and rebelled against the state. These instances should do credit to Muhammad Tughlak, because when it was a question of dealing justice, he did not allow consideration of birth or scholarship or position to cross its course. Ibne Batuta writes:

“Of all men of his times, Muhammad Tughlak is the most humble and the most modest in behaviour, and this king is devoted to justice in a higher degree than every other in his realm”. Muhammad Tughlak ruled for twenty seven years :

Hayat : He must have been a mad man, because he had issued paper currency and invaded China.

Abdur Rahman : Today the British finance rests on this very basis. How many years ago did he devise the policy of issuing currency ? Even today the existence of the Government depends on this policy. And then, to protect India, the British Government has had to send military forces several times to the borders of China, and to witness its own defeat. This being so, if Muhammad Tughlak followed this policy and succeeded in this aims, why should he be blamed ?

After Muhammad Tughlak, his cousin Feroze Tughlak was selected by the nobles to succeed him. Feroze Tughlak's virtues, his forbearance and his welfare work, are well-known. There was peace throughout his reign. Only once, was there a revolt in a part of the State. This king was a great statesman. He was a learned man, and a just king. He was loved both by the civil population, and his army. He was devoted to public welfare. In his time, grain and other articles of consumption were very cheap. He constructed hospitals and schools. He established poor houses where the helpless and the indigent were provided with two meals a day. There was arrangement for a free supply of clothing to the poor, as well. Full salary was given as pension to aged sepoys, as well as, to those who were disabled on the battlefield. He esta-

blished seminars where highly qualified scholars imparted education to both the Muslims and the Hindus.

He founded several towns, and constructed canals. There was peace all over the country in his time. The people were prosperous. Everywhere there were gardens of fruits. In and around Delhi alone, there were twelve hundred such gardens. There were seven different kinds of grapes grown in these gardens. The revenue from these gardens was a lakh and a half annually.

The king used to wear simple dress, and lived a simple life. The rich and the poor, the Hindus and the Muslims, used to love him intensely. Jagirs had been allotted to meet the expenses of colleges, baths, canals and buildings, etc., An idea of his work may be gathered from the following statement of works of public utility executed during his reign :—

(1) Canals dug	50
(2) Mosques constructed	40
(3) Colleges established	30
(4) Public buildings erected	20
(5) Rest houses built for supply of meals by Govt.	100
(6) Villages and towns established	200
(7) New tanks constructed	30
(8) New hospitals „	100
(9) New baths „	100
(10) New bridges „	150
(11) New big and large wells dug	100
(12) Big anicuts newly constructed.	10

When Feroze Shah captured the fort of Nigarkote, the temple therein which was very famous was left untouched by him. But in the fort, he came across

a library of Sanskrit books, and this he brought with him to Delhi. He appointed Sanskrit and Persian scholars from among Hindus and Muslims to translate a number of them into Persian. The books selected for translation dealt with Astrology, Music, and the arts of wrestling and fighting. Mulla Dawood of his court wrote a famous book called 'Masnavi Chandar Ban' in Hindi and dedicated it to the Minister, Khawja Jahan. It is a book on Sufism treating of the love between Moorak and Chanda. The King himself was interested in the study of history. Lakhs of rupees used to be spent on the poor and on students annually. Some thirty six thousand tanka used to be given as scholarships to both Hindu and Muslim students. During his reign one lakh and eight thousand persons were gathered both from the country and abroad to be trained in different crafts and industries. They were then sent out to various parts of the country to engage themselves in different professions, as a result of which good progress was made in industries. The King himself invented a clock which helped the people of the city in finding out correct time. Old and ancient buildings were repaired, and considerable amount of money was spent on such repairs. The King was particularly interested in seeing everybody occupied in some calling or other, and provided with some definite source of income. He appointed inspectors to prepare and present a list of unemployed people. The King used to provide work to each in accordance with his qualification. Some of the unemployed were assigned to nobles, and some to various industrial workshops. In this way, the entire country was transformed into a flower garden where people lived happily and contended.

Defects in coinage were removed and improvements effected in the mint. He appointed auditors to inspect the accounts of the state, and sent them out to various districts. It was this king who founded the city of Jaunpur which later became a centre of learning.

Shivprasad: Why the city was called Jaunpur, while the King's name was Feroze ?

Abdur Rahman : He called the city after the name of his brother Juna Khan (Muhammad Tughlak Badshah). The city which was originally called Junapur gradually came to be called Jaunpur.

The King reigned for thirty seven years. Now, I ask you, in what civilized State of the present time, such comforts are available? Is your own country in a better condition at present ?

The Prime Minister of this King, Mahboob Khan alias Khan-e-Jahan, was a great statesman and administrator of his time.

After Feroze, a dark screen fell on Indian history for sometime. Four kings succeeded him, and among them only one king ruled for six years, and the rest reigned each for a few months. They were succeeded by Muhammad Tughlak. He was a mere child, when he ascended the throne. Soon rivalry grew among the nobles and the ministers to gain power. At last, they resorted to fighting. Sometime one party, and sometime another, used to keep Muhammad Tughlak to his side. When the situation at Delhi was like this, Timur invaded India. Although Timur could not devastate India to the extent Halaku Khan had done Baghdad. He harmed India so much that she could not recover her prosperity for years to come. How many cities were destroyed, how many people were killed, how many

nobles were reduced to poverty, and how many Ulama and Pandits were slain, it is futile to enumerate at this hour. Halaku was not a Muslim, but Timur was, and that is why, what he did is a matter of great sorrow. What is strange is this that he believed that by so doing, he was serving the cause of Islam! Timur not only devastated India, but also destroyed several Muslim kingdoms. He destroyed the Turkish empire in the West to such an extent that the Usmanlis or the Ottoman Turkish dynasty could not recover from this shock for a very long time, and their conquests in Europe were consequently stopped.

The Tughlak family ruled for eighty years. There were three great kings in this family who ruled the country for nearly seventy years. The remaining ten years were uneventful.

Here Abdur Rahman became silent. Hayat called the servant to bring tea. While they were taking tea, Jawaharlal asked Abdur Rahman: "You have repeatedly said that most articles were cheap in those days. Is it possible to know the price schedule of such articles."

Abdur Rahman: Yes! The schedule of rates is on record.

Mahendru Pratap: Were people quarreling over the question of cow-slaughter in those days? So far, you have said nothing on this subject.

Abdur Rahman: So far as I know, there were no quarrels over it. In the entire history, there were one or two incidents in which the Muslim officers sided with the Hindus and punished the Muslims, because the Muslims were found to be in the wrong.

Mahendru Pratap : Were the Muslims punished on the question of cow-slaughter.

Abdur Rahman : I have often told you that the government under Muslim kings was a national Indian government. The kings were Muslims by religion, but they were Indians by nationality, and they used to regard India as their homeland. India's progress and prosperity, was their progress and prosperity. During the period of Tughlaks, the differences between Hindus and Muslims had almost disappeared. The Hindus were great supporters of the kings, and with intense enthusiasm they would risk their own lives in their cause. In their last days, Rai Mirdar and Naher and several Rais and Ranas were greatly attached to them.

THE EIGHTH DAY

After Jumma Prayer, all the friends gathered again in the room of Abdur Rahman.

Abdur Rahman : Today, I shall relate briefly the history of Syed and Lodi families. Immediately after the invasion of Timur, Muhammad Tughlak died. The nobles and ministers offered the throne to Syed Khizar Khan. But Khizar Khan did not adopt the title of king ; he ruled the country as the representative of Timur. Such a policy, on his part, gives the proof of his wisdom. This man was bold, kind, generous, sympathetic and truthful. He never touched wine, nor was he addicted to any other vice. Khizar Khan was very popular among his nobles, ministers, and subjects. On his death, the enter city of Delhi observed mourning for three days. Khizar Khan ruled for seven years, and after his death, the throne was offered to his son, Mubarak Shah, by the nobles and ministers of the state. During the period of Syeds, the Hindus wielded considerable influence in the administration of the country. Syed Mubarak was a man of learning. He was just, and generous. In his whole life, he never spoke to anybody a harsh word, nor did he get angry with any one. He ruled for thirteen years. Under the instigation of Qazi Abdus Samad, a party of Hindus killed him, while he was engaged in prayer.

After his death, his son, Syed Muhammad, ascended the throne. Sadanand and Sadpal, the nobles of the court, were awarded titles and presents. The former was appointed as governor of Amroha and Bayana, Narnal and Kohram. He also appointed to a high

post a Hindu servant of his minister by name Ranu. He ruled for twelve years. His son Allauddin ruled for a few days and became a dervish, and Bahlol Lodi who was a bold and strong noble was made king. The Syeds ruled over the country for thirty six years. There were four kings belonging to this family, and of these, two were great and powerful kings. Although there was no pomp or splendour at Delhi such as that of the days of Tughlak and Khilji Kings, the Syeds tried to revive its grandeur. The fact is that they had to spend much of their time in setting things right which had been disturbed in consequence of Timur's devastating invasion. From the results of Timur's invasion, one can visualize the extent of havoc that might have been done to the country, if Changize or Haluku had invaded India. When Bahlol Lodi became king, he appointed Pratap Rai as the Governor of Manipuri and Bhogaon, and awarded great honours to Narsing Rai. A large number of Hindus were appointed on high posts, Bahlol was a just and virtuous king and treated the Hindus and Muslims, nobles and ministers with equal regard. During the period of his reign, he did not sit on the throne, and whenever the nobles and ministers pressed him to sit on the throne he used to tell them that as everybody knew, he was the king, and that there was no need for him actually to sit on the throne, and indulge in the pomp and splendour of kingship. He was endowed with the sense of humility. He used to eat simple food, and that too in very little quantity. Although he was not a scholar like many of his predecessors, he was fond of courting the company of learned men, and help them with generously. He was a wise and courageous king. He used to run the

administration with great care and thoughtfulness. He had mastered the art of administration and knew its minutest details. There was peace and contentment in the country. During his time, Delhi begun to recover its old glory. He reigned for thirty nine years, and the people were happy under his rule.

After his death, the nobles and ministers made his son, Silkander Lodi, their king. Sikander Lodi, at that time, was but seventeen years in age. He was gifted with outward and inward beauty. He was a brave man, industrious, kind-hearted, humble, good tempered, and a generous-minded king. He disliked idle talk in every form, and hated wine and debauchery. He was very regular in offering his daily prayers. Peace and contentment prevailed in his time. The essentials of life were cheap. He held his court everyday, and would not rise from his seat until the day's work was finished. He was very strict in dispensing justice, and would not allow personal feeling to interfere with his sense of justice. The sense of God was ever uppermost in his mind. One day, when Sikander was on his way to put down the revolt of his brother, Yarbek, he met a dervish. The dervish wished him success. Thereupon, the king said, "Nay, wish success to him who is a well-wisher of his subjects, and who sympathizes with them."

Sikander used to give alms very liberally to the poor and also induce the nobles of his court to do so. Once a week, he used to feed the poor and the beggars and distribute provisions for them regularly, be he either at his capital, or on tour. He was averse to Muslim women attending fairs and anniversary gatherings at the graves of saints. He therefore stopped this

custom among the Muslims. Likewise, he intended to stop the custom of Hindu women bathing at the river ghats. When, in this connection, he sought the advice of a Muslim religious authority, the scholar consulted dissuaded him from his purpose. He told him that it was not the business of a king to interfere in the religion of his subjects. The king got angry with him, and remarked: "You support such silly things." The scholar replied "No. I have merely told you what Islam ordains, It is the injunction of the Prophet not to interfere in the religion of others. It is very bad, especially for the king, to interfere in the religious matters of his subjects." Sikandar then kept silent, and restrained himself from issuing such an order.

Sikandar was very keen in advancing education in the country. He opened fresh colleges and schools. He induced the Hindus to study Persian; and it was in his time that the Hindus began to study Persian with zest. He used to appoint on military posts only educated men, be they Muslim or Hindu, and this he used to do after satisfying himself that those who were to be selected for appointment were educated people and of respectable families, and of good character.

He established what were then called postal stations, from where he used to get daily information about the state of affairs in the districts. He used to get information also about the provincial governors, district and military officers every day, and if any one of them was found committing any mistake, he used to have it rectified in proper time.

Sikander used to decide intricate legal cases only after seriously studying the various aspects of the issue before him. So careful was he on affording justice to

every one in need of it, that even when travelling on a horse, if any one should seek justice at his hands, he would at once dismount, and listen to the complaint with the utmost attention.

He was himself a poet and encouraged scholars in many ways. In his time several books were written. 'Tibbe Sikanderi' which is a famous book on medicine was written during his reign, as was also written the renowned lexicon, 'Ferhang-e-Sikandari.'

He ruled for twenty eight years. Rai Ogar Sen, Kachwaha, Vinayak Dev, Raja of Dholpar, Balbhadar Rai, Man Singh, Raja of Gwalior commanded great respect in Sikander's court.

Ahmed Khan Lodi, who was a prominent nobleman, was the governor of Lucknow in his time. He liked the Hindus so much that he gave most of the posts to them; so much so, that he was suspected of having been converted to Hinduism.

Mahendru Prarap: But the execution of Badhan Brahmin under the orders of this king is certainly a regrettable fact.

Majid: Is it a fact?

Abdur Rahman: No. No. The incident is recorded in 'Tarikh-i-Dawoodi, and it is probable that Ferishta copied the account from it. The inducement to the king to issue the order for the execution of the Brahmin is ascribed to Mullah Abdullah, a man who had warned the king not to interfere in the religious matters of his subjects and had used harsh words in this connection on the occasion when the king had sought his permission to prevent the Hindu women from having

ashnam (bathing) at river ghats. The allegation is that the Brahmin was executed for remarking, "Islam is a true religion. So also is my religion." The point to note is this. In the first place, any such expression is not punishable under any injunction of Islam. Secondly. Mullah Abdullah, an expert in Islamic law, was the last man to have issued a 'fatwa' to this effect. Further, to state that just to decide this simple issue, Ullama from distant places were requisitioned to pronounce opinion, and that discussions on the issue were prolonged for a pretty long time, is unthinkable. The issue, if it ever arose, was a very simple one. There was the Quran ready at hand to point out that such a remark, as ascribed to the Brahmin of the story, was never punishable. Further, the record of the Prophets' life was there. And then, the decisions of Caliphs, in matteas relating to non-Muslim subjects of a state governed by Muslims, were so well-known to the Qazis that it looks ridiculous to have resorted to the device of inviting scholars from distant parts and carrying on the tedious process of lengthy discussions on a simple issue for a long time. Clearly, the facts of the case have not been properly stated. The story of a Brahmin having been executed during this king's time might be true. But it certainly is unbelievable that the reason for his execution was just an utterance on the part of the Brahmin to the effect that Islam and Hinduism were both true.

After Sikander, his son Ibrahim Lodi became king. In his time, grain and cloth were cheaper than before. Ibrahim was of harsh temperament, and the nobles did not therefore like him. Daulat Khan Lodi, the Governor of Punjab and some Hindu nobles and Rajas,

invited Babur to come to India. But when Babur came, all the Hindu and Muslim nobles unitedly came forward to resist his entry. All of them denounced Daulat Khan Lodi, and those Hindu nobles and rajas who had invited Babur. Rana Sanga, Raja of Chittore, was appointed, on behalf of the Hindus, to resist any invasion from outside. Ibrahim himself was at the head of the army. The Hindus and Muslims together fought the invader. Ibrahim was killed on the battlefield. Another son of Sikander Lodi, Mahmud Lodi, was placed on the throne by the Hindu and Muslim nobles, and fighting was continued on his behalf. Hasan Khan Mevati; Rana Sanga, Raja Awal Dev, Medni Singh, Raja Chanderi, Chander Bhan, Manakchand Chawhan, Karan Singh, Rajput and Muslim nobles gathered to encounter Babur. At the battle of Kandwa all were killed except Rana Sanga and Medni Singh.

This event is in itself a proof of how the Muslims and Hindus were united in defending their country, and how they were together opposed to invasions from outside. After Timur's invasion, the condition of the country had deteriorated; and if at this time, the Hindus had wished, they could have set up their own rule. But the Hindus were as enthusiastic to fight for the state as the Muslims. From this it can be deduced that they all considered this state as their national state and not a state ruled by mere foreigners. It is a matter for thought that when religion had failed to unite these two communities, the common national interest brought them together. That shows that the spirit of national oneness had already developed among the two communities to such an extent that it welded them into one people and roused them to a united action. Though

Babur defeated the Indians, yet, they soon drove his son out of India.

The members of the Lodi family ruled for seventy five years. Of the three kings in this line, two were competent rulers. They ruled for sixty five years. The remaining ten years were uneventful.

Abdur Rahman called for tea. They all took their tea, and at the call of the Muazzin, the Muslim friends repaired to the mosque.

THE NINTH DAY

On Friday, all friends gathered in the room of Abdur Rahman at the appointed time. Abdur Rahman said : "I shall now relate to you briefly the account of the Moghuls. The rule of the Moghuls is praised even by outsiders, and the people in general know something about them. During the period of their rule, India received the title of the "Queen among States". I must necessarily be brief in giving an account of them ; for, there is so much to tell.

Abdur Rahman : It is better you listen to me with attention.

Babur was twelve years old when his father died, and he ascended the throne of his father. He was endowed with wonderful qualities. His kind-heartedness, his sympathy for human weaknesses, his generosity, and truthfulness, soon won the hearts of even his enemies. In his time, he was unrivalled in Persian as a prose writer and also as a poet. As a man of learning too, he occupied a high position. In courage and fortitude, he had no one to compare with him in his days. He has written his own autobiography which is known all over the world. He was an expert in music. He was reputed for his dash and daring. Several times, it so happened, that despite his easy access to ferries, he would take off his clothes, and with his sword unsheathed, would plunge into the waters of the Ganga and cross it swimming. From the beginning, Babur was determined to live with the Hindus on friendly and affectionate terms, so much so, that he advised his son Humayun to stop cow-slaughter during his reign. Humayun, however, had no chance to act upon the advice of his father;

but his grandson did. Babur ruled for four years, and after him the nobles placed his son Humayun on his throne.

Humayun was a man of happy temperament and good manners. He was interested in astrology and geography, and he wrote books on these subjects.

Cordial social relations between the Moghuls and the Hindus were soon strengthened. It is a matter of regret that Muslim historians, considering this aspect of life as something normal or commonplace, did not give it the importance it deserved. The adoption of Humayun as her brother by Rani of Chittore and his wearing of her 'Kangan' on his arm as a sign of brotherly relationship with her, and also her inviting him to defend her and help her against her Muslim neighbour Bahadur Shah of Gujrat, show how close and filial were the relations which were forged between the Moghuls and the Hindus from the very beginning of the Moghul rule in India.

Having defeated Humayun, Sher Khan Sur drove him out of the country, and he himself became the king. Sher Shah was a man of great talents. But his regret was that he was called upon to this high office when he was advanced in years. During the four years of his reign, the improvement that he effected in the general conditions of the country, constitutes a wonderful record of service. He was gifted with many virtues. He had a balanced mind and used to view things in right perspective. The greater part of his time was given to the administration of justice and the welfare of the people entrusted to his charge. He issued the following orders to all the provincial Governors, as

soon as he took over charge of the country's administration: "The Governors should see that whenever any nobleman or any officer of the state is found oppressing the people or indulging in indecencies, he should not be let off leniently, but severely punished, be he the son of the governor himself, for, such a man is verily the enemy of the state in two ways. First, his oppression excites disrespect for government in the minds of the subjects, and brings discredit on it. Secondly, the subjects abandon their agricultural pursuits. This causes confusion in the land and reduces the revenue with which the administration of the state has to run."

On one occasion, he gathered farmers from the different parts of the state, and addressed them as follows:

"With all my heart, I am your well-wisher. If you find yourself in any difficulty at any time, come and talk to me. I shall at once remove your difficulties. Remember your distress is my distress."

He was very punctual; and fixed hours for every kind of work. He used to say "justice is the noblest of virtues. It has been hold sacred by both Muslim non-Muslim rulers. No prayer is higher for a king than to be able to do justice. Both Hindus and Muslims are entitled to equal justice. If justice were denied, the social relations existing among people will snap altogether, and the strong will oppress the weak".

Once at Itawa, the property of a merchant was stolen. The government authorities of the city did not trace the criminal and recover the lost property. The merchant therefore appealed to the king. The king sent for the police officer of the village. He in-

formed the king that he knew nothing of the incident. Thereupon, the king quietly sent two men to that village with instructions to cut down some trees near about it. When they began to cut down the trees, the police officer came and arrested them, and hauled them up before the magistrate. The king then called for the police officer, and said "when you are able to find out immediately the incident of felling trees, how was it possible that you did not know that a big dacoity had been committed in your jurisdiction. It is obvious that you are an accessory to the robbery." The Police officer ultimately admitted his guilt. The thieves were arrested, and the entire property of the merchant was recovered. The king then remarked: "Ninty per cent of thefts are caused at the initiative and with the connivance of the police themselves", From that time on he made the police responsible to pay from their own pockets the value of property stolen in their respective localities. As a result of this order, there was practically an end to thefts and robberies in the State.

Mahendru Pratap : All these are the blessings of Akbar's reign.

Abdur Rahman : Certainly ; but Akbar greatly improved upon them. In fact, most of such orders had been issued long ago by Allauddin Khilji, Muhammad Tughlak, Feroze Tughlak, and Sher Shah. Akbar revived most of them. The most important point about the time of Akbar is that he had a great historian as his minister in the person of Abul Fazl who used to attach as much importance to recording the details of the kings orders, as he would attach to recording the events of battles,

Mahendru Pratap : From this account it is obvious that the government of those days was as well organised as the present government is.

Jawaharlal : Let us not forget the fact that in those days no railway and no telegraphic system existed.

Abdur Rahman : The framework of the present administration is what is inherited from Sher Shah and Akbar. Now, the same thing is presented in a guilded form. There is no doubt that several new changes have been effected in the administrative machinery in accordance with the present conditions of life and needs. An English historian writes that Sher Shah gave proof of his sense of justice and wisdom to an extent hardly attainable at present under the British rule.

Whenever the king travelled with his army through the country and the fields, the loss caused to the farmers was compensated for immediately by a batch of officers who were in charge of this work. He constructed mettalled roads all over the kingdom. Four well-known roads that passed through the country were the following :

- (1) The Grand trunk road that passed from Bengal to Peshawar covering three thousand miles :
- (2) Another road covering six hundred miles from Agra to Burhanpur reaching up to the borders of the Deccan.
- (3) A third road passing from Agra to Chittore and Jodhpur
- (4) A fourth road from Lahore to Multan.

All along these four roads, he built at every fifth mile resting houses, one for the Muslims and another for the Hindus. At the gate of each house, there used to be kept utensils with water, both for Hindus and

Muslims separately. At the resting houses of the Hindus, there was kept a permanent staff of Brahmins attendants who would always keep ready hot and cold water for Hindu travellers. Wherever there was no village near the resting houses, fresh colonies of people were set up, and thus many new villages sprang up. All along the roads, there were fruit and shady trees, and every resting house had a concrete well. Guards under an officer were stationed at these places. During night hours, the gates of the resting houses were closed, with sepoys guarding them both from inside and outside. At the gates, there used to be kept a pair of horses ready to carry forward the post brought from the last station. In this way, the king could get news daily from as distant a place as Peshawar. Near each resting house were one mosque for the Muslims and one platform made of concrete that served the purpose of the temple for the Hindus. There was arrangement for the free supply of provisions, food and fodder for the travellers and their animals. In cities and towns, there were 'langar khana's' where the poor and the indigent were provided with meals, the Muslims with cooked food, and the Hindus with raw material.

During this period, there were some two thousand and five hundred of such resting places in the country. Although the idea of one nation began in the time of Muhammad Tughlak, the manner of Feroze Shah's administration was such that it greatly strengthened this idea. But Sher Shah turned this idea into a definite objective and ideology of his government. It is regrettable that he became king at a time when he was old and could not serve his country to the extent of his ardent desire.

Mahendru Pratap : Then the idea of love and service of one's country is not new to India. So, we have not learnt to develop the spirit of patriotism from Europe ?

Shamshad : We had no sense of patriotism before. It is quite a new idea for India which we have imbibed from the English people. Had there been such an idea before, our poetry would not have been so barren of patriotic emotion and feeling.

Abdur Rahman : But Shamshad ! how do you know that our poetry is barren of patriotic feeling. It is, of course, true that the manner of expression of Urdu, Persian and Hindi poetry is different from that of English. But our poetry is not devoid of the patriotic element. Just listen to the Persian conflict !

“The love of the motherland is sweeter than the acquisition of Solomon's empire.

Even the theorn of our motherland is sweeter than the finest flower of a foreign land.”

Probably, you may remember that after Sher Shah, his son, Islam Shah, built some more rest-houses. He established a separate Court to try the cases of the sepoys. In those days, the Hindns were a very influential people. One day, one Afghan nobleman related a dream to the king, thus saying : “I saw in my dream three bags descending from heaven. One was full of gold coins, the other contained mud, and the third was full of sheets of paper. The bag that contained mud fell in the house of a Muslim ; the bag containing papers fell in the treasury of the Government ; and the one which had gold coins fell in the house of a Hindu”. The king having understood the meaning of what was said,s miled.

The king was himself very scrupulous in observing the laws of the country, and was very strict in seeing others do the same.

After Islam Shah, Adil Shah ascended the throne. He appointed one Hemu as his Prime Minister. Hemu was a man of ordinary social position. But he was reputed to be a clever man. His appointment was the outcome of the policy introduced by Sher Shah.

Sher Shah was a great expert in the art of music; and experts in this art like Bahadur Shah, Malva, and Tan Sen used to look upon him as their teacher.

Whenever the kings of this line went out with their armies, certain royal servants accompanied them to pay compensation immediately for the loss of any standing crop sustained by the farmers through whose fields the army had to pass.

THE TENTH DAY

On Friday all the friends gathered in the room of Abdur Rahman.

Jawaharlal : Probably, Mahendru is not feeling ashamed now of the history of his country.

Hayat : No : He now feels proud of it.

Abdur Rahman : Now listen to an account of Akbar. It is not necessary to speak much about Akbar. It is gratifying that at least about one King of India, even his enemies are forced to offer a word of praise. I have already told you that the idea of Hindu-Muslim unity and various plans of social welfare, and administrative reforms had their origin long before Akbar. But Akbar was a high-minded man and God-fearing. So, he readily adopted the ways chalked out by his predecessors, and made considerable improvement on these.

It was due to his good intentions that he was able to enlist to his cause the services of good and able Ministers. From the point of view of education, Akbar held no position. Some used to say that he was an illiterate man. But historians state that he knew history fairly well, and that he was a poet too. He had several Sanskrit books translated into Persian, as for example, Mahabharat, Ramayan, Gita, Naldamayanti, etc. To each of these books a scholarly preface was added, and all of them were illustrated. On the translation of Mahabharat alone, several lakhs of rupees were spent. There was a translation bureau which was entrusted with the task of translating standard works from every language. In Akbar's time, a survey was taken of the different

rules of revenue administration in vogue, and a new code was prepared. Alms-giving was continued as in the days of old. New charity houses were built for Hindus and Muslims which were called Dharmapura and Khairatpura respectively. For the Yogis (ascetics), there was a separate charity house called Yogipura. In big cities, public libraries were established. The postal system was considerably improved. In addition to four thousand postmen, there were several hundred riders who carried the post. The distance from Agra to Ahmedabad was not less than five hundred miles, and the post could reach from one place to another within five days. On special occasions, the riders could cover fourteen to fifteen hundred miles in ten days with their post. The Ain-i-Akbari gives a detailed account of the administration of the country, both civil and military, and it is unnecessary to repeat it here. The result was an all round prosperity for the people as a whole.

It was the intention of Akbar to constitute the whole of India into one united State, and introduce therein a form of government agreeable both to the rich and the poor. He wanted to assure the people that in his eyes people belonging to various creeds were all equal, and that efficiency alone should be the criterion for appointment to the highest post, irrespective of his religion. God had endowed Akbar with a pure heart and a sound mind. His idea was to unite all the communities in the land into one people on the religious plane also. And with this purpose in view, he adopted an attitude of tolerance and respect towards all religions. Shias, Sunnis, Hindus, Muslims, Persians, Christians and in short, all communities were all alike in his eyes. There was no high post on which no Hindu had been appointed. During the time of Akbar, Queen Elizabeth

and Henry IV were ruling respectively in England and France. Akbar was no less great than his two great European contemporaries. In fact: he was in certain respects greater. Even after the lapse of several hundred years, if a comparison is made between his and their administrations, it will be found that it compares favourably with theirs. Of all his acts, his endeavour to unite different communities into a single nation was most praiseworthy. He got this idea of uniting the people from the earlier Indian rulers, the Tughlaks and the Surs, and gave it a concrete shape. To materialize this idea, it was first of all necessary to bring the entire land under a single administration. Hence his plan of conquests. Another thing that he considered necessary was that people belonging to various creeds, should, in their own way, worship One Supreme God without reference to any other deity. He even wished, especially in the beginning, that all of his subjects should follow only one religion. He soon realized that such a thing was impossible, and that was why he abandoned this idea. He was a great lover of his country and a great well-wisher of his people. If all that the Muslims did for the good of the people and the country in India is destroyed or scraped, this single act of Akbar to unite all the people will be cherished with reverence and pride.

Hayat : Were all the good qualities ascribed to Akbar his own ?

Jawaharlal : What do you mean ?

Hayat : No. I have read it somewhere that all the good acts that he did, were on the advice of his mother and under her influence.

Mahendru Pratap : It is not surprising that the mother's influence should affect the development of the child's moral life. That itself shows how Indian woman.....

Hayat : Just listen. You have already started a lecture.
Who says Akbar's mother was an Indian ?

Mahendru Pratap : Well ! Concede she was a Moghal.

Hayat : She was an European.

Jawaharlal : Was she an European ?

Mahendru Pratap : What are you saying ?

Tasaddukh : Hayat, you are making foolish jokes.

Hayat : Foolish jokes, my friend, the name of Akbar's mother was May Mackenna and it was due to her that Akbar possessed such good qualities.

Abdur Rahman : (who was so far keeping quiet and smiling)
Don't you know that recently an Englishman tried to prove that Akbar's mother was a European, by twisting the title of " Mary muqami " or " Mary of the land " by which title she was known, into Mary Mackenna. He resorted to this device just to prove that the Indians lacked in these qualities, and that what Akbar had acquired was due to his European mother.

Abdur Rahman : (Here all the friends burst into laughter)
Akbar ruled over the country in pomp and splendour for fifty years. Among his great Ministers, Abul Fazl, Raja Man Singh, Raja Bhagwandas, Raja Todarmal, Faizi, and Birbal will ever be remembered in history.

After Akbar, his son Jehangir sat on the throne. He was greatly interested in Sufism and used to maintain contact with saintly fakirs and yogis. Whenever he came to know of a godly man, he used to visit him and spend hours together in his company trying to add

to his knowledge of spiritual life. Sir Thomas Row, who had come from England as Ambassador to the Court of Jehangir to secure trade facilities, was greatly bewildered when he saw this great king embracing an almost naked Hindu Yogi and seating him by his side. He made absolutely no difference between Hindus and Muslims, nor did he ever spare any prince, if he happened to commit a crime. Once he wrote to Sayeed Khan, the Governor of the Punjab, warning him: "I have heard that your personal servants oppress the people. Beware, if I hear such a report once again, I will punish you severely. Rustum Khan, the Governor of Sind, was found oppressing some persons, and Jehangir immediately dismissed him, and appointed Rai Singh Valan, the Chief Jailor of the State's prison, in his place. Chin Gilij, the Governor of Jaunpur, was dismissed for doing wrong to a person. A further punishment was awaiting him at the capital. But he died on his way to it. Similarly, Abdullah Khan Feroze Jung, who was a great general and whom Shah Jehan liked immensely, was dismissed for unjustly treating some people. Even Shah Jehan was severely warned when the Governor of Surat, who was under Shah Jehan, ill-treated the English merchants. Muqarrab Khan, the Governor of Suraj, was a close friend of Jehangir. When Hawkins came to India, Muqarrab Khan behaved unmannerly with him. When Hawkins reached Agra to see Jehangir, he intended to complain to him about the treatment meted out to him by Muqarrab Khan. But before he would begin his story, Jehangir related the entire incident and told him that the Governor of Sind had been already properly dealt with for his action. Hawkins was greatly surprised at this.

In the same way, complaints reached Jehangir against Raja Kalpan. The King at once made enquiries. The complaints were found baseless, and Jehangir therefore acquitted the Raja. Such examples may be multiplied under each period. I have given you here a few examples. From this, you can conclude that during our own rule, that is under our national government, no difference was made between the low and the high, and every criminal was punished, regardless of his social status. The governors of those days used to be powerful men, and the fear was always entertained that any moment they might revolt ; yet, the Muslim Kings spared no pains to do justice against them. Now you may yourself make a comparative study and find out whether it is possible to punish the present day governors in the manner Muslim Kings did. Sayeed Khan was the Governor of Punjab in Jehangir's time, and Sir Michael O'Dyer in our days under the British Government. How differently were they treated for their crimes ! Why so ? It was because in Jehangir's time there was Swaraj. His was a national government. The appeal of the subjects demanding justice was bound to be heard by the king. Now, when all the Indians with one voice demanded justice, nothing was done. Why was not the appeal heard ? Because there is no Swaraj today in India. The Government did not care to mind the appeal. The British people are reputed for doing justice in their own land ; but in our country, they entirely ignore their own principles of justice, if a dispute happens to arise between a Britisher and an Indian. The entire population of India could not force the Britishers to do justice against any of their own people. Now, you can easily visualise the blessings of Swaraj.

This king too had kept a chain hung at the entrance to his palace to which a bell was attached so that seekers of justice might ring it whenever necessary. Hawkins says: "Each and every one of his subjects can inform the King that he needed to seek justice at his hands." The same traveller records that the legal cases used to be conducted at the judicial court in a regular way. The file used to be kept in a regular form, and the complainant and the defendant, as well as, the witnesses used to give their evidence in a prescribed manner. Sir Thomas Row says that Jehangir's treatment accorded to the Christians was so good that people sometime suspected that the king had turned a Christian. The Christians were permitted to preach publicly, construct churches and schools, and convert to Christianity any one who was willing to embrace that religion. But he would never tolerate any deliberate attacks on the religion of the people. His relations with the Hindus were paternal. On the occasion of Sankrati festival of the Hindus, he used to give alms, of one thousand tolas of gold and Silver and several thousand rupees. At the time of Divali, a Puja Darbar was held and two decorated cows with garlands of cowries placed around their necks used to be brought into the royal garden by Brahmins. The king then would give the Brahmins valuable presents. On the occasion of Shivaratri festival, Jehangir, like Akbar, used to invite the Hindu Yogis to his palace and feed them. He also used to celebrate the Dasera Festival, and wear the rakhi. He used to, as I have said before, visit Yogis. Not only was he paternal in his relations with Hindus, but he went to the extent of allowing Shraddha to be performed for his father, in accordance with the Hindu custom and against the Islamic injunctions.

Keshav Das was the keeper of his Fort. Keshav Das's father, Ram Das, also held this position during the time of Akbar. Keshav Das was promoted to the rank of Commander of six thousand horses. The title of Raja Bakramajit was awarded to Har Das Rai, and he was appointed as the Commander of the State Artillery. Fifteen hundred rupees were added to the stipend of Bhava Singh, the son of Raja Narsingh Dev who was Jehangir's personal friend, and was given the rank of Mansabdar of three thousand horses. Raja Man Singh had made strenuous efforts to oppose the accession of Jehangir to the throne, and wanted to place thereon his son Khusraw. In fact, he had, on the occasion of the death of Akbar, instigated several nobles of the court to support the claims of Khusraw. But when Jehangir became king, he immediately pardoned Man Singh, and restored him to his original position. Rajah Kishen Singh, Jagat Singh Maharaja, Ganj Singh, Raja Girdhar, Raja Bhim, Raja Sar Buland Rai and many other Hindus [nobles were Mansabdars and Governors and commanders in his time.

Ahmed : But this king was reputed to be a tyrant. He had removed the eyes of his son, Khusraw.

Abdur Rahman : This is not correct. Jehangir has made no reference to such an incident in his autobiography. Jehangir was a plain speaking man, as is evident from his autobiography. He would never hesitate to speak of his own weaknesses. Like Babur, he was as frank and honest in describing his own vices, as he was in referring to his own virtues. It being so, we cannot expect such a man to have willfully suppressed the fact of the incident, if that were true. On the other hand, he was so mindful of the personal safety of Khusraw

that when he rebelled against him, he was careful not to send the state forces against him under the command of Amir-ul-Umra who hated Khusraw, and would not have stopped short of killing him. Khusraw had developed some trouble in his eyes, and had therefore to keep them for sometime under bandage. People thought that he had been deprived of his eyes. The king, in fact, had appointed expert surgeons to attend on him. The physician of the state cured him of the defect of his eyes, and the king pleased with the result, bestowed upon the physician the title of Masihuz-Zaman. William Fench, the English traveller who was in the court of Jehangir writes: "Some people say that the king had bandaged Khusraw's eyes, and sealed the bandage." This is merely a canard." Sir Thomas Row who had met Khusraw in 1617 and had a talk with him, makes no mention of Khusraw's loss of sight. On the other hand, he says that Khusraw would succeed to his father's throne.

Jawaharlal: But the story of getting Nur Jehan's husband killed in a planned encounter with a tiger is of course true.

Abdur Rahman: The story of the death of Nur Jehan's husband is another canard. Whether the death of Nur Jehan's husband was welcome or not to Jehangir is a different matter. But it is certain that Jehangir never planned his death. Jehangir, who frankly admits having planned the death of Abul Fazl, would not conceal this crime ascribed to him. The fact is that nearly two years after his accession to the throne, Jehangir, did not think of Nur Jehan or her husband Sher Afghan. It was only when a series of complaints against Sher

Afghan, were received by him that he wrote to Khut buddin, the Governor of Bengal, to investigate the complaints against Sher Afghan, and if he was found guilty, to dismiss him and to send him to the capital. But when the Governor went to investigate the complaints, he had a rupture with Sher Afghan, Probably how words were exchanged between the two with the result that Sher Afghan stabbed the Governor, and killed him. When the Governor's friends came to know of the murder, they had an encounter with him. In the scuffle, several of them fell, but eventually, Sher Afghan was overpowered and killed. Now, tell me, in what way poor Jehangir was to be blamed? There is not the slightest proof that Jehangir had instructed the Governor to kill Sher Afghan. Nor can it be proved that the Governor had gone to him with the intention of killing him, because, he had gone to him unattended and unarmed. Further, there is no mention of the accusation levelled against Jehangir in any of the books written during his life time. A man of his type would not resort to such ways just to secure the hand of a woman. Were it so, he would not have waited for full four years after Sher Afghan's death to turn to her. It may be said that Nur Jehan herself was opposed to her marriage with him. But firstly, there is no proof of this. Secondly, a king who could commit the murder of her husband would not have hesitated to force her to marry him. The very thing was impossible for a king who the moment he ascended the throne had issued his famous twelve orders guaranteeing the happiness and welfare of every one of his subjects.

Jehangir was fond of collecting old manuscripts and he paid very high prices for them. A few pages of

Tughlak Nama' of Amir Khusraw had been lost. He asked the Court poets to recompose the lines contained in the last pages. The attempt of Hayat Kashi was approved, and Jehangir rewarded him handsomely.

Abdur Rahman, at this stage, called for tea.

THE ELEVENTH DAY

After Juma prayers, all the friends gathered again, and straightaway Abdur Rahman commenced his speech.

Abdur Rahman : After Jehangir, his son, Shah Jehan, became king. Shah Jehan's name is so well-known that much need not be said about him. He developed the art of architecture to such an extent that the Juma Mosque of Delhi and the Taj Mahal of Agra stand to his credit for all times. Who can say that Taj Mahal is not unrivalled in the world?

In his time, the Hindus wielded considerable power in administration. His merit lay in this that he increased the income of the state without levying additional taxes on his subjects. He erected costly buildings. The European travellers who visited India during his time unanimously declare: "Shah Jehan treats his subjects not as a king but as a father." He did not make any difference between the Muslims and the Hindus; both were alike to him. Hundreds of Hindus held high posts in the army. A number of them held the posts of governors. They were the members of the King's Council as well. He treated the Christians too with kindness. An Armenian Christian was one of the governors of Shah Jehan. The Christians were free to build their churches. The judicial department was considered to be the best department of his time. The people were so contented and prosperous that they hardly quarrelled among themselves, and consequently the Judicial Courts had not much work to do. So was the case with the Royal Court, although the King

attended it every day regularly. Everybody had free access to the King to seek justice. Considerable improvement was made in the means of travel. Every traveller could go from one end of the country to another without fear or danger, as a result of which both trade and industry received a great impetus. The reputation of India's industries spread far and wide, and the Europeans would marvel at the fine finish of Indian manufactured articles. The police administration was praiseworthy. Charles, who later became the king of England as Charles II, having heard much about the prosperity of India, sent an Ambassador to Shah Jehan to secure a loan from him ; but as soon as the Ambassador reached India, he died.

Historians, Christian and Hindu, record of Shah Jehan's goodness, nobility, tolerance, and generosity. They give numerous examples of his generosity, justice and tolerance. He established several colleges and provided handsome honorariums to Professors. Once a poet's poem pleased Shah Jehan so greatly that he ordered that the poet be weighed in Gold and the entire gold be given to the poet.

Shamshad : This appears to be a waste. What was there in that poem that such a great quantity of gold was wasted ?

Abdur Rahman : You do not seem to appreciate the meaning of such a gesture. Such a generous reward was obviously intended to encourage scholarship. Such an encouragement usually provides an incentive to other scholars to produce a still finer literary work, and helps the development of taste for literary art among the people, and also draws to the country high literary talent from abroad.

A single incident of the King's generous award has upset your mind. I shall give you further instances. Of those who were weighed in gold and silver for their high talents, I may mention the names of Syed Jeelani a poet, Qudsi, a poet, Kalim, a poet, Abdul Kasim, Sialkoti, a scholar, Qazi Muhammad Aslam, Rang Khan, Abdur Hamid Lahori, Mahatab Kai, Hamun, a surgeon, Jaganath Balaya, Basini, the poetess, and Arif, a surgeon. Hundreds of Hindus and Muslims drew stipends. Harnath Mahapithar was getting an annual stipend of two thousand rupees; and when he came to the Darbar, the king presented him with elephants and horses together with a lakh of rupees.

There was not a single department of his government to which the king did not pay his personal attention and in which he did not effect improvements.

When Shah Jehan fell seriously ill, his sons quarrelled among themselves to seize power. His third son, Aurangzeb ultimately triumphed, and he became king.

To say anything about Aurangzeb is not easy. Truth and falsehood have got mixed up so much in the narration of his history that it will need considerable time to separate the false from the true. Since, in this brief talk, my idea is to give only a bird's eye view of Muslim rule, it is impossible for me to reply to all the criticisms levelled against him. Aurangzeb was a king of great ability, and even now, he can be counted as one among the great kings of the world. But, had he not kept himself open to certain accusations against him, and had he not developed certain obsessions, he would have been ranked with the most famous kings. Aurangzeb was unrivalled in bravery, courage, enterprise, consistancy, industriousness, culture, learning, forbea-

rance, wisdom and discernment. Bernier, who was Aurangzeb's enemy and who presents everything of him in dark clours, even he, is forced to admit that Aurangzeb was a man of unusual ability and genius. He says that he was a diplomat of a high stature and a great king, that he lived on the bread of millet and water, and that his means of personal support were his earnings which he made by making caps and copying the Holy Quran which people used to buy, and that he wore very simple dress. In the household, no utensils of either gold or silver were used. In his court, neither backbiting, nor indecent talk was allowed. This king never ordered the execution of any man while angry. During fifty years of reign, no act of oppression and coercion on his part could be proved. There is one solitary instace of his cruelty. He ordered the execution of a prisoner. He did this because the prisoner had abused both the king and Prophet Muhammad.

Aurangzeb was a great writer of prose and was a poet too. But he did not take to poetry with any avidity. He was so much interested in work that, excepting the hours of his sleep, he kept himself all the time busy. He had constant watch on the Government servants of both high and low ranks, and was always prompt in taking notice of their slightest errors. He used to get information daily all about his kingdom through two sources, one being the government papers, and the other, the reports from his agents. Once he wrote to his father Shah Jehan stating: My accession to the throne has not made me arrogant. You know from your forty years of reign how trying is kingship. When the king leaves the court in the evening after finishing his day's work, how depressed and grieved he

finds himself. You have advised me to pay my attention more to conquests rather than to the administration of the country. But as you know, the greatest conquerors are not invariably the greatest administrators. Savage people have often been conquerors, and the biggest kingdoms have been brought to ruin in a few years' time. In reality the greatest king is he who sets before himself the aim to reign over his people with justice, love and kindness."

The standing order of Aurangzeb was that any one who had a complaint against his Government, should file that complaint free of fear and obtain redress by formally proving the claim in an open court. He established colleges and schools in cities and villages and provided good salaries and stipends to professors and students from the government treasury.

Jawaharlal: Is it a fact that he removed all the Hindus from Government service?

Abdur Rahman: This is not quite correct. Only this much is true that he issued orders to appoint only Muslims on the posts of Peshkar and Bukhshigir in the department of Khalsa. These were minor posts and the order did not extend to other departments, and therefore his order could not be the outcome of his religious prejudice. We find the word 'Hindu' used in history, but usually Kayasths used to be appointed on these posts. It appears that the King had received information about the corruption of the clerks holding these posts, and that it was in the heat of the moment that the order was issued. But before this order was carried out, the king realized that it should be replaced by another order to the effect that on those two posts, four persons should be appointed, two of whom should be Hindus

and two Muslims. This was certainly not an irregular order. Probably the arrangement made was to expedite work. From this, one can see that the first order was not the result of any religious bias. The cause must have been different.

After all, this cannot be forgotten that in Aurangzeb's reign, there were many Hindus who held high posts, and who, until his death, very loyally and sincerely fought his battles. Be that as it may, even Raja Bhim Singh, Maharaj Singh, the son of Raja of Udaipur, and Bhav Singh and Inder Singh, the brothers of Maharaja Jai Singh, the Raja of Udaipur, Achlaji, the son-in-law of Shivaji, were Generals in the army of Aurangzeb, and fought for him in every campaign. Further, a number of Hindus were Governors, members of Council, and high officers of State. When this was the case, the mere mention of a historian that with a stroke of the pen, all the Hindus were removed from their posts suddenly and simultaneously, does not seem to be worthy of notice. Khan-c-Khanan has noted in his account the actual words of the king: but the author of *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* has generalised what was actually a particular order.

Ahmed: By imposing Jazia, he made the Hindus hostile to the State.

Abdur Rahman: I do not say that the imposition of Jazia was not improper. In fact, Aurangzeb committed a great blunder. Probably infuriated by the revolt of Sat Narayani community, he issued this order and stuck to it obstinately. Jazia was not in itself a vicious or disgraceful thing as the generality of people think. You may study the subject in the exhaustive thesis of the

late Mawlana Shibli. But however honest the intention of the king, when the Hindus regarded it as an insult to them, it was not advisable to have enforced it against the will of the general public. From this fact it is evident that the Hindus regarded themselves as partners in the State and considered the Government as a national government. This was the reason why they resented the imposition of the Jazia which, in their opinion, indicated that the king considered the Muslims as rulers and the Hindus as the ruled. It rightly injured their feelings. Had they been habituated to looking upon themselves as subjects of the Muslims, they would not have regarded Jazia as a painful measure, because it was a very light tax, and each person had to pay annually from Rupees three to ten only. On the other hand, the advantage was correspondingly great. It exempted those who paid it from every form of military service, for, according to Islamic injunctions, no non-Muslim on whom Jazia was imposed was required or forced to serve in the army. The general resentment was due to the fact that the Hindus would not regard themselves as a subject community. They regarded the Moghul rule as their own, and it was why the Rajputs had unhesitatingly entered into family relations with the Moghuls.

From the time of Akbar, the Hindus came to hold the conviction that the king was their own king and his government was their own government. In the marriage ceremonies of Jehangir, Akbar personally participated. The bridgeroom and the king, the father of the bridegroom, both lent their shoulders to the palanquin in which the bride was to be conducted from her father's home to the bridegroom's, whereupon tears rolled down

the eyes of the bride's father. With folded hands, he addressed the king : " My daughter is hereafter the maid servant of thy house and we are thy bondsmen". The king at once drew the Raja to his bosom and said : " Your daughter is the queen of my house ; you are all my kinsmen." The pursuit of such manners both by Jehangir and Shah Jehan could not but have created in the minds of the Hindus the conviction that they were not a subject race, but that they were equal partners with the Muslims in the government of the country.

Jawaharlal : But Aurangzeb behaved badly with Raja Jaswant Singh with the result that the Rajputs disliked him.

Abdur Rahman : If Aurangzeb is at all free from blame in any affair, it is as in that of Jaswant Singh and his sons.

1. It was in the Deccan that Aurangzeb encountered Jaswant Singh for the first time. Having heard the serious illness of his father, Aurangzeb arranged to proceed to Delhi. Dara Sikoh, his brother, sent Jaswant Singh to obstruct his passage. Aurangzeb entreated Jaswant Singh to the best of his ability to let him proceed. But Jaswant Singh would not let him do so. In the encounter, Jaswant Singh was defeated. When Aurangzeb defeated Dara, Jaswant Singh came forward to offer apology to Aurangzeb and Aurangzeb forgave him.
2. Jaswant Singh was then placed by Aurangzeb at the head of a large military force to fight Shuja, another brother of Aurangzeb. But

during the course of the battle, Jaswant Singh changed sides and went over to the side of Shuja with all his troops. It was a very trying moment for Aurangzeb. He defeated them both.

3. Again this very Jaswant Singh went to Jodhpur and engaged himself in an intrigue with Dara. But on the advice of Raja Jai Singh, he sought forgiveness at the hands of Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb not only forgave him, but restored to him all his Jagirs and titles, mansabs, and appointed him as the Governor of Gujerat.
4. When Jaswant Singh accompanied Prince Moazzam to fight Shivaji, even on that occasion, did he try to intrigue with the other party, and tried to instigate against Aurangzeb, Raja Bhav Singh Bhonde who was holding under Aurangzeb the mansab of 3000 horses. But the Raja not only refused to fall into line with him but sent for his wife from Jodhpur who was the sister of Raja Jaswant Singh, and through her he sent word to Jeswant Singh that the blood which ran in his veins was Rajput blood and that he could not cheat any one.
5. This Jaswant Singh went with Sheishta Khan in the campaign against Shivaji. Even then, he tried to conspire. Aurangzeb forgave him this time also, and sent him to Kabul as Governor.

Now you think over. It was not an easy matter to forgive any one so repeatedly. When Jaswant Singh died at Kabul, his brother officers requested the King

to confer the father's titles on his son who was then a boy. Aurangzeb said that he would look after the training of the child himself and made arrangements for his stay at the court. But surreptitiously, the boy was kidnapped by the Rajputs from the court. The story is offered that the king wanted to convert the child to Islam. But there is no proof in support of the theory. The theory would have been held valid, if Aurangzeb had done any such thing in any other case. The story is not recorded in any book of history of the times, not even in the works of Aurangzeb's detractors. There is nothing on record to show that Aurangzeb ever converted a single person to Islam, punished any one who refused to be converted. On the other hand, Sahuji, who was the grandson of Shivaji, the bitterest enemy of Aurangzeb, lived with Aurangzeb from his childhood and was brought up under his care; and never was any attempt made to convert him to Islam. Once the report came to the King that Sahuji refused to take food, but expressed his wish that he would live on fruit only. The king enquired of his reason. He was told that the boy felt that he was a prisoner, and that as a Hindu in prison he should take only fruit. The king sent his special secretary to the boy to tell him that he was not a prisoner, and that, on the other hand, he was living in his own home; whereupon the boy resumed taking his normal diet. The king personally looked after the training of the boy. Whenever he went out, he kept him by his side, and had his tent pitched by the side of his own. Even as a boy, he was raised to the rank of commander of 7000 horses and was conferred the title of Raja. This is history. The affectionate care with which Sahuji was

brought up created so deep an impression on the boy, that when after the death of Aurangzeb, Bahadur Shah sent Sahuji back to his own home country, Sahuji thought that it was his first duty to visit the grave of Aurangzeb before he returned home.

Jawaharlal : At any rate, Aurangzeb did stop the holding of fairs by Hindus.

Abdur Rahman : This is true. But it was not the fairs of Hindus only that he prohibited. He stopped the fairs of Muslims as well. He prohibited 'Tabut' processions of Muslims in Moharrum. He was a puritan. He never liked mere tamasha or foolish recreation. He dismissed also musicians from his court. He also gave up the old habit of kings receiving Darshan from balconies which from the political point of view was a desirable practice. He also stopped the abject and slavish adulation with which the nobles used to address the king in Darbar. So why complain against such a man, when he stopped the fairs of the Hindus. You may condemn him as puritan ; but you cannot condemn him as a bigot.

Jawaharlal : But he erased all the temples of the Hindus.

Abdur Rahman : Well ! To say he erased all the temples of the Hindus is a clear exaggeration. He did pull down a few, while he was engaged in his campaign against Jodhpur and Udaipur. The temple at Mathra was pulled down because it had been constructed by Narsing Dev Bandela by looting and killing a Muslim. Of course pulling down of the temple of Vishnath will always be a point against him, but the circumstances attendant thereon, had to be taken into consideration.

1. Why is it that of the numerous temples at Benaras, this particular temple should have been chosen for demolition.

2. History records that in this temple Hindus and Muslims, from the different parts of the country, used to be brought together and trained in the art of sabotaging the state administration. When the king came to know of this movement, he issued orders for its demolition. Clearly the place had become a centre of intrigue and disaffection against the State. Remember that this very king had issued orders to open gun fire against the Muslim mosque where the king's enemies had sought refuge. The point further to remember is that Aurangzeb ruled in the Deccan for 26 years; but never once did he demolish a single temple in the region. The caves of Ellora were but within three miles from where he is buried. There you have thousands of idols carved in stone. Near about lay the graves of the renowned Muslim saints. The tomb of Shah Syed Zainuddin also was there which Aurangzeb used to visit in his life-time frequently, and within whose compound, he ultimately chose to lie down in rest. With all this, never did the thought come to him in his life-time to disturb the famous temples of Ellora so close by. To say that people rose against him because temples were destroyed is not history. On the other hand, only a few temples were destroyed which had been usurped by intriguers and conspirators for clearly non-religious purposes. From the moment peace was restored and Aurangzeb repaired to the Deccan, there is not one incident of temple-demolition recorded in history.

Mahendru Pratap : This account exonerates Aurangzeb from all charges. He could not therefore be held up for reprobation.

Abdur Rahman : No ! In my opinion, some blame or other can still be attached to him in this connection. But think over. This king who is reputed to have pulled down temples as the result of his religious fanaticism writes once to the Governor of Benares : " I have heard that some people are preventing the Brahmins and other Hindus to raise temples on grounds which have been under their possessions from former times and that on that account the Hindus of the places concerned are much agitated. Order is hereby given to you that you should see to it that no one prevents them from raising temples on their grounds and no one interferes in their worship. Regard this as an irrevocable order ".

Mahendru Pratap : (In wonder) Is this fact true ?

Jawaharlal : After this, who can lay this charge against him.

Abdur Rahman : The fact is true and the signed order of Aurangzeb is still extant. In such matters, one should entirely depend upon histories written in Persian. But the pity is that Government record of the time has been destroyed, and the opportunity to write the authentic account of the period is lost. Listen ! this very Aurangzeb granted numerous jagirs for the upkeep of Hindu temples and for the maintenance of their Pujaris. Do you find any reference to this in any of the histories that you read ; although, if you go to the pujaries of the Hindu temples, you will see in their possession the royal firmans of grants of jagirs to them for the upkeep of their temples., For example, I may

cite the case of the famous temples of Multan and Gaya to which Aurangzeb granted jagirs.

Jawaharlal : These facts throw me into bewilderment. Why then is poor Aurangzeb charged of bigotry.

Abdur Rahman : Aurangzeb was a very unfortunate man. His is a long story, and I cannot enter into any detailed discussion over it. After Aurangzeb, his eldest son, Bahadur Shah, ascended the throne. Although he did not possess the courage of Akbar, he was gifted with many of his virtues. He was a great friend of the Hindus. He entered into agreements with the Rajput Rajas. He stopped the levy of Jazia. After Bahadur Shah, some semblance of Central authority was maintained by Faruq Siyar and Mahammad Shah. With the death of Muhammad Shah, came to end practically the Moghul dynasty, although after him came several kings. But these kings had no better status than the king on the chess board. The real power passed into the hands of ministers and noblemen. So, Syed Abdullah, and Syed Husain, together with Ratan Chand and Raja Ajit Singh, exercised the state authority. Rajadhiraja Jai Singh became the President of the Royal Council. The powers of Ratan Chand were so great that he had the sole power to appoint or dismiss the Qazis of the State, as if he was the Lord Chancellor of the State. In the time of Muhammad Shah, Chelaram was the Governor of Ahmedabad. Raja Ashni Singh occupied a high responsible post; Raja Majlis Rai was the Diwan to the Prime Minister Qamruddin Khan, and Raja Khushal Rai was the Royal Secretary to the king, and Rai Basant Rai was the Governor of Agra. Raja Sen Bahadur was the veritable ruler of Shujauddaulah's state of Oudh, and used to officiate for

the Nawab whenever he was out of the headquarters. In the time of Safdarjung, Maharaja Noel Rai acted as his deputy and Commander-in-chief. In the time of Asafuddaulah, General Gurdar Singh was the Commander-in-chief, and Raja Surat Singh the Governor of Baraely, and Raja Khushal Rai, the agent-general and Governor of Allahabad. Likewise, in Bengal Raja Mohanlal was the Diwan of Sirajuddaulah and the Chief Controller of the State. Shujauddaulah could do nothing without the advise of Raja Mohanlal. During his time, Raja Ram Narayan was the Governor of Bihar. Such instances may easily be multiplied. If a list is to be drawn up from the very beginning right up to the end of the high posts held by the Hindus during the Muslims rule, you will easily see that they were co-sharers in the administration of the State, and there was no post which was withheld from Hindus. Besides, the relationship which subsisted between the two wings of the state was so cordial and close that there was no post where a Muslim or a Hindu had not under him or close by his side, a member of the other community as friend and adviser.

During the Moghul rule, hundreds of books were compiled, and even the art of painting which excites even today the admiration of European artists. In this connection, I shall content myself with giving the names of only Hindu artists, just to point out that in no sphere of life, did the Muslim rulers keep the Hindus aloof from their own activity, and that they participated on terms of equality in their joys and sorrows, in their plays and recreations, and in administration. Numerous institutes were set up to train people in the art of painting where alongside of Muslim artists, the following well-known Hindu artists drew sumptuous salaries :—

1. Wasvant who was the son of Kahar, 2. Viswan
3. Kesu, 3. Tal, 5. Mukund, 6. Madhav. 7. Sag
8. Mahesh, 9. Khim Karan, 10. Tara, 11. Sarnala
12. Harbans, 13. Ram.

Sir Thomas Row praises the artists of Jehangir's time and has compared them favourably with the artists of Europe.

The names of the great musicians of the time were
1. Haridas, 2. Tansen, who afterwards became a Muslim,
3. Ramdas, 4. Sri Gyan, 5. Nanak Jajun, 6. Sur Das, 7.
Rang Sen, 8. Muker, 9. Sarandas, Bhim, 10. Mohanpither.

At times these musicians used to be rewarded with lakhs of rupees each. You can therefore see how popular this art was, and what progress it had made in former times, and how close and cordial were the relations between Hindus and Muslims and with what zest the Muslims attained proficiency in Sanskrit learning.

It has been established beyond doubt that Muslim kings and chiefly the Mughuls including Aurangzeb granted great jagirs to Hindu temples. This is not a matter for surprise; for, the policy of the State was to give jagirs to mosques, schools, temples and patashalas in every part of the state. The firmans or the royal orders in this respect may be cited even today. Indeed, the State used to provide palanquins for idols and various silver utensils and cloth for use in the temples, as also candle stands, and candles. For example, in one of the temples at Kanauj, provision had been made for the daily supply of 4 seers of pure ghee for lighting purposes, and the Pujaris drew stipends.

All the friends were left in a state of wonder having heard this.

THE TWELFTH DAY

The Bahmani Kings.

On Friday the friends assembled at the appointed hour.

Abdur Rahman : So far, you have listened to the account of the Kings of Delhi. I now wish to tell you briefly about other Muslim kingdoms. Of these, the most important was the kingdom of the Deccan, which had become independent of Delhi during the last days of Muhammad Tughlaq and which continued to function for nearly 300 years. The kingdom was founded by an ordinary man, by name Hasan. He was once a servant of a Brahmin, and it is why the dynasty founded by him was styled Bahmani, out of gratitude for his master, the Brahmin. In fact, he assumed the name of Allauddin Hasan Gangu Bahmani, and he appointed his master as Finance Minister, and filled the civil government with Brahmins. His policy was to show affection to friends, generosity to his enemies, and love to his subjects. This family reigned for 200 years. There were 18 kings in the line, of whom three reigned but for a few months each and may therefore be counted as of no consequence to the State. Likewise, the last four kings were of no importance. In fact, they did not exercise any power whatsoever. This was actually exercised by the Barid family of Vazirs or ministers. So, for all practical purposes, you may state that altogether eleven kings of the Bahmanis really ruled the State, of whom 8 may be easily regarded as great kings. These eight kings ruled for 130 years. Now listen to the account of these kings.

Allauddin Gangu was succeeded by Muhammad Gangu. This king reorganised the currency system of the State. He had to fight several times Raja Kishen Rai of Vijayanagar and defeated him every time. In the course of this warfare, the thought came to him that it was cruelty to let the civil population suffer on account of their quarrels. So he entered into a treaty with Raja Kishen Rai that both sides would see to it that unarmed people would not be touched and that none would be executed after the fight was over. He enjoyed on his successors to respect this agreement. After this, it became the prevailing custom between the two states that no war prisoners should be put to death and that no unarmed civilians should be hurt. Although fire arms had already been introduced into the country, it was during the reign of this king that they were freely used in warfare. In Europe fire arms were used for the first time in the battle of Cressy in 1368 A.D. So, it is not correct to suppose that the Indians learnt their use from Europe. The Bahmani king used to make frequent tours in his State and directly acquaint himself with the needs of the people and attend to their welfare. The people loved him.

Social and political relations between the Hindus and Muslims were close during his time, so much so, that when Raja Govind Dev Maratha rebelled against the king and was severely defeated, he fled to the abode of the well known saint of the times, Shah Imaduddin, to solicit his blessings. The saint advised him not to shut himself in his fort, but to repair himself along with his wife and children to Gujerat. The Raja yielded to his advise and stayed with him under his protection till his wife and children joined him, whereupon the saint

laid his hand on the head of each of the family and prayed for their safety in their journey, and their future happiness. When the king came to know of this, he became angry with the saint; but the saint cared little for his anger. The king eventually cowed down and himself had to seek permission to enter into the saint's presence and enroll himself as his disciple.

After him, Mujahid Shah became king. This prince was a very brave man. Once he had to encounter a tiger single-handed and strike him down with his sword. Great as he was as a soldier, he was fond of learning, and had great command over Turkish and Persian. Even like his father, he never ordered the execution of any war prisoner. His uncle Dawud Khan managed to kill him and himself become the king. But the sister of Mujahid Shah, Ruh Parver Agha, closed the gates of the fort. The nobles of the court gathered round her and succeeded in dethroning Dawud Khan and putting an end to his life. At the instance of Ruh Parver, a new king was enthroned in the person of Mahmud Shah. This new king was a generous-hearted and just king and possessed qualities of statesmanship in a high degree. He was a scholar and a poet and did much to spread education in the State. He surrounded himself at the court with scholars and a variety of technicians invited from abroad. Once he arranged to send a ship to Iran to bring the famous Persian poet, Hafiz of Shiraz, to his court. The king loved plain life. He used to put on simple dress and eat simple food. He used to say that the king was a trustee of the State and as a trustee it was not proper for him to spend anything on himself out of the trust. He established schools and colleges at Gulbarga, Bidar, Khandar

Elajpur, Daulatabad, Chawl, Wail and other places wherein free education was imparted to children of poor people, and free food supplied to them. In this connection, he granted jagirs to the different schools and colleges and appointed qualified scholars to run the institutions. Further, he had a list made out of the blind in the State and fixed stipends for them. He did not believe in war, and so concentrated his mind and time on the advancement of trade and industry in the State; and only once had he to put down a rebellion.

He ruled for 20 years. His people loved him. Because of his intelligence and learning, he was given the title of Arastu (Aristotle). Once there was a famine in the State. He arranged the collection of stores from wherever he could obtain, and distributed the grains to his people at low cost, and supplied free rations to the very poor. He re-organised the Judicial system and appointed Mir Faizullah, a scholar respected on all hands, as the Chief Judge of the State. The civil government was in the hands of the Hindus, and Brahmins occupied most of the high places and key posts.

In the time of Feroze Shah Bahmani, the Deccan was regarded as the Queen of the States. This king was free from all vices. Only every now and then, he used to beguile himself with wine, but he used to shed tears soon after, and seek pardon of God for his shortcoming. He was a good calligraphist and used to spend a little time every day in copying out the Quran. His spare moments, he spent in the company of scholars and holy men, and used to take part in learned discussions. His standing order was that in such gatherings, no courtly etiquette was to be observed, and that all were to be treated alike, and that every one should have

the fullest liberty to argue out his point in the discussions. Only two things were prohibited: one was that no one should indulge in any personal remarks; and the other was that state affairs should not be referred to in the discussions. His saying was that only when the King occupied the throne in full darbar that courtly etiquette was to be observed, and that on other occasions, the king considered himself as one of the people and was to be considered as such and not as a king.

You can easily picture to yourself how progressive the State must have been under such a king. From the ports of Goa and Chawl, ships were sent out to other countries on commercial ventures. The king's standing order to the Captains of the ships was that they should be on the look out, wherever they could, for talented people proficient in the different branches of sciences and arts, and invite them to come to India. Indeed, on such occasions, he used to send handsome presents in advance to the prospective candidates. The king himself was a poet of marked ability and knew a number of languages; so much so, that he used to address the foreigner visiting his court in his own tongue. At his court were to be found Arabs, Circasians, Georgians, Turks, Russians, Chinese, Afghans and even people from Europe. From within India scholars from Bengal, Punjab, Gujerat, Rajputana, Telengana and Marathwada also flourished at his court. He was a scholar and a philosopher. On Sundays, Mondays and Fridays, he invariably listened to lectures delivered on Mineralogy, Geometry, and Logic, and other subjects. He never missed these lectures. It is said that from the standpoint of learning, he was a much greater scholar than Muhammad Tugblaq. He respected every religion and

never interfered with the religious rituals of any of the people. He was a great student of the Old and the New Testament. Hakim Hasan Gilani was a notable astronomer of his court. For his sake, he constructed an Observatory at Daulatabad. It was in his time that the great saint, Syed Muhammad Gesu Daraz, came to the south and lived and worked at Gulbarga,

After Feroz Shah, Ahmed Shah became the king. This king was a great administrator and was thoroughly conversant with the details of civil and military administration. He too never interfered with the religion of any one. He constructed a College at Gulbarga where the great saint and scholar just mentioned, Syed Muhammad Gesu Daraz, worked as a Professor. Even like his brother, Feroz Shah, he sent for scholars from abroad. He trained his army in the art of archery. Raja Dev Rai once waged war against him and when after his defeat, he was brought to the capital, the king sent his ministers and noblemen to receive him at the entrance of the capital, and himself went forward to receive him and made him to occupy his seat beside him at the throne and placed his own shawl on his shoulders. This was the highest form of respect that could be shown by a king in those days. This kind of privilege was not even accorded to Princes and their parents. Because of his sincerity, and his godliness, he was known throughout the kingdom as not Ahmed Shah the King, but as Ahmed Shah, the Wali, or the Saint.

After him came Allauddin Shah II to be the king. This king was renowned both for his bravery and his piety. During his reign, it was with the utmost difficulty that he could agree to have a murderer pay the death

penalty. The historians of the Deccan agreed that in matters of justice he could be compared to the great Faridun and Nawsherwan of Iran. He constructed hospitals for the poor throughout his kingdom where everything was attended to free of cost. The physicians were both Hindus and Muslims. Gambling and the use of wine were strictly prohibited throughout the State. He trained a batch of lecturers, Hindus and Muslims, to tour round the villages and towns, and lecture on ethics. Likewise he appointed touring judges to dispense justice and redress wrong without undue delay. He was a patron of learning. Occasionally, he would deliver Friday sermons at the Mosque. In one of his sermons, he referred to his father in the following words: "The just, the compassionate, the patient, the distinguished among the kings, the servant of God, Ahmed Shah the Saint, Bahamani, Deccani". On hearing these words an Arab merchant from the congregation in the Mosque who had sold his horses to the king and who had not yet received the price for them due to the negligence of the king's officers, stood up and addressed the king. "Your father was just. But you are neither just nor compassionate, nor patient; you are breaker of promises." The king who was still standing on the pulpit kept silent for a moment and before he proceeded any further with the sermon, he made the officers pay the cost of horses at once. This done, he proceeded with his address. He said "the officers who had failed to discharge their duty in time have disgraced the state. They will not be safe from the inevitable wrath of God." Having said this, he closed his address and went into his palace. So acute was his distress at the event that, out of shame, he did not stir out again, and within a few days he died.

Just think over. The kings of this type are now a days described as cruel and their rule is described as high way robbery. Think over. When so worthy were these kings, how prosperous would not have been the states they governed. The Hindu-Muslim relations of the time were such that the Raja of Karnataka entertained in his state numerous Muslim officers, and not only built mosques for the Muslim officers who were employed in his military forces, but saw to it that no one interfered with their religion. Such were the fraternal relations between the Hindus and Muslims. But we are told in our schools that the relations were very inimical and that the two communities were in a perrenial state of warfare. The relations were so cordial that a number of Hindu customs were adopted by Muslims and vice versa. The term 'Peshwa' which was first coined by the Muslim kings for their Vazirs and ministers was later on taken over with pride by the Marathas. The ministers of those days were so upright that they did not listen to even heir-apparents, if they expressed any wish which was contrary to morality or to the interest of the State.

After Allauddin, Humayun Shah became king and ruled for three years. This was a wicked king. After him, his minor son, Nizam Shah Bahmani, was set up on the throne with his mother Badshah Begum as the regent. This lady was very talented. She appointed the famous Khwaja Mahmud Gawan as the Prime Minister and Khwaja Jehan as the Adviser to the State, and acted on the advice of the two ministers; and these three constituted the Council of Regency with her as the President. The weakness that had crept into the administration during the three years of Humayun

Shah's rule were speedily removed. After being on the throne for two years, the boy king died on the day of his wedding, and Muhammad Shah Bahmani II who was just nine years of age was set up on the throne. The queen-mother continued to be the Regent and Khwaja Mahmud Gawan and Khwaja Jehan, members of the Council of Regency. Great pains were taken to educate the minor king on proper lines with the result that next to Feroze Shah Bahmani, this Muhammad Shah ranks as the best scholar king. When the boy came up of age, the queen mother retired, although in various matters, she still continued to offer advice. The Prime Minister, Mahmud Gawan prior to his appointment as Prime Minister, was a merchant prince known for his magnanimity and generosity. He founded the various colleges in the State out of his own personal wealth, and throughout his life helped the poor and the indigent. Every Friday night, he used to stir out into the city incognito, and find out the condition of the people himself. Whenever he found himself free from his official work, he used to seek the company of scholars and engage himself in discussions with them. Scholars from outside the country used to come to him for recognition of their merits. He patronised music also in the State. Since the Bahmani state had expanded itself over a wide area, it was divided by him into eight provinces, as against the former four, and for every district, he appointed an administrator.

Till the time of Mahmud Gawan, the Governor of each province was also the Commander-in-chief of the Army stationed within his jurisdiction, and used to appoint officers himself. Mahmud Gawan changed this practice. The Governor of each province hereafter was to be in

charge of only the fort in which he held his headquarters, and the remaining forts and fortresses were to be in charges of commanders appointed directly by the Centre. These officers were paid from the Centre and had no direct connection with the governors. The Judicial system was also reformed. This Vazir lived a very plain life, and for his personal living, he spared a little time to carry on a small trade business. The official emoluments such as salary and the proceeds from the jagir were all earmarked for the aid of the poor, the indigent scholars and students engaged in the different educational institutions. He was on terms of correspondence with the famous poet and scholar Mulla Abdur Rahman Jami. He always slept on a plain mattress and used to take his meals in earthen vessels. There were over 3000 rare manuscripts in his library.

Muhammad Shah II once killed a Brahmin for some faults and the historian trace the downfall of the line from that moment, it being regarded that killing of a Brahmin was a heinous sin. But this was the only incident of the kind during the Bahmani rule. After Muhammad Shah, his minor son Mahmud Shah ascended the throne. It was during his time that the kingdom was parcelled out into five principalities.

1. Adil Shahis of Bijapur
2. Kutub Shahis of Golkonda
3. Ahmed Shahis of Berar
4. Nizam Shahis of Ahmednagar
5. Barid Shahis of Bidar

After Mahmud Shah, there followed 4 kings. But the Vazirs of Barid family actually held the power and the king was the ruler only in name. After Kalimullah Shah Bahmani, the Barid Vazirs assumed kingship.

THE THIRTEENTH DAY

As usual the friends assembled on Friday and Abdur Rahman began his talk.

Adil Shahi

Abdur Rahman : The founder of the Adil Shahi dynasty was Yusuf Adil Shah who was the Prince of the family of Osmanli Turks of West Asia and had come to the Bahmani Court from Iran, and had been appointed on some minor post and converted to the Shiah creed.

Once the king asked of Mawlana Giyasuddin, the Shih religious leader, which of the Muslims sects was the best. The Maulana replied : " Suppose a king is seated in his palace with many doors to it. One can reach the king through any one of these doors. The real aim is to reach the king and not the door ". Again the king asked him which of the sects is the best. The Mawlana replied : " The best in every faith follows the best faith ". In the time of this king, every one had perfect freedom to follow one's own faith. He reigned for 21 years and bore a good name. He was a generous hearted man and very courageous. He had a keen insight into human nature. He was gifted with personal beauty too. He was a good conversationalist and was renowned for his learning and scholarship. Himself a good musician, he invented a number of Ragas or tunes and used to sing them freely. He had employed a number of experts in this line originally brought from Iran, Turkistan, and Constantinople.

After him came Ismail Adil Shah. Since he was a minor, Kamal Khan was appointed as his Agent. This Agent desired to dethrone the young king and himself

become the king. The mother of the king, Bubu Khanam, came to know of this, and deputed one of her secretaries to have him killed. The mother of Kamal Khan also was a clever lady. She attacked the fort of the king and made Kamal Khan's son Safdar Khan as the Commander of the attacking forces. At the time, there were only 200 sepoys with the king, as the son of Kamal Khan had managed to ween the rest to his side. Babu Khanam and another lady Dilshad Agha, the king's aunt, both put on male dress and came to lead the small contingent of about 200 sepoys against 7000 sepoys of Safdar Khan. Dilshad Agha displayed consummate skill in fighting. A good many of her followers were killed; but she still kept on fighting and sent a devoted servant of hers to get down the parapet wall of the fort and to run to the city to inform the public there of her plight. The result was that hundreds of the people from the city came to her rescue by scaling the walls. Eventually, Safdar Khan was killed and his followers took to their heels helter-skelter. This was how the two brave women of this family saved their kingdom from ruin.

Ismail Adil Shah was a very just and wise king. He even forgave those who rebelled against him. No one dared to carry tales to him, because he was in the habit of immediately bringing face to face the man against whom the tale was told. The king was a good painter and was very friendly towards scholars. He knew several languages including Turkish and Persian and was proficient in music as practised in these two languages.

After him, Ibrahim Adil Shah became the king. He was a very brave man. Asad Khan, a shrewd statesman was his Vazir. This Asad Khan was a good

general. During the reign of this king, the official correspondence was carried on in Hindi for the convenience of the numerous officers that he had appointed in the different departments of the State. In fact the Diwani Departments were swamped by them.

After him came Ali Adil Shah as the king. He was friendly with the Raja of Vijayanagar, Raja Ram Raj. When the son of Ram Raj died, Ali Adil Shah went to Ram Raj with just a few attendants to condole with Ram Raj. The Queen of Ram Raj adopted Ali Adil Shah as her son and her daughter accepted him as her brother. Such were the relations between Hindus and Muslims in those days. They used to meet each other as if they were kinsmen. During the reign of this King, the civil administration was run almost entirely by the Hindus. Isu Pandit exercised a very great power in the State, and was instrumental in introducing a number of welfare schemes in the State. Even to day one can see the remains of water works executed in the city of Bijapur which used to supply water to every corner of the city.

After Ali Adil Shah came Ali Adil Shah II during whose time Isu Pandit was appointed as Vazir. He was the last of the kings of this line, as Akbar annexed Bijapur to his Empire. In the days of these kings, Hindus occupied good positions in both civil and military administration.

During the Adil Shahi period, the Brahmins had considerable share in the administration. Badri Pandit, Isu Pandit and Hindiyatan Naik were powerful Vazirs and generals.

Nizam Shahi :

The founder of the Nizam Shahi dynasty was Ahmed

Nizam Shah who was the son of a Brahmin by name Timmappa Bheru, and it is why the Sultans of this dynasty are known as Behri (derived from Bheru). It was he who founded the town of Ahmednagar and made it as famous as Baghdad of Cairo. This king was a man of very gentle disposition. Whenever he passed in the city, he did not gaze idly on the crowd, lest he might rest his eyes on any women. Once, at the close of a battle, a very beautiful lady was brought before him. This lady happened to be a good musician and commanded ready wit. The young king at once fell in love with her and desired to marry her. The lady said that she was a married woman, and that her husband was a prisoner in the camp of the king. The king at once sent for the husband and handed the lady to him and bestowed favours on the couple. The king established a college for the training of military officers: so much so, that the people of the Deccan came to be reputed for swordsmanship.

After him came his son Burhan Nizam Shah. This king was a learned man. Even while he was only 10 years of age, he used to compose poems. He wrote a book on the duties of a king. The manuscript of this book written in his hand was preserved in the library of Ahmednagar for a long time. A Brahmin by name Kishwer Sen was his Peshwa or the Chief Minister. Narsu Pandit also was one of the Vazirs of this king and was his Ambassador at the Court of Bahadur Shah, the king of Gujerat. Whenever the king used to go out of his capital, he used to appoint Kishwer Sen as his deputy with full kingly powers. Shambaji Chitnavis, who was one of the high dignitaries of the State, usually functioned as an Ambassador to one or other of the

then existing courts. The very word 'Chitnavis' means the Secretary of the King. The king conferred on him the title of Pratap Rai. Gopal Rai, another Brahmin, was his Finance Minister.

After Burhan Nizam Shah came Hussain Nizam Shah. It was in his time that the famous gun of the Deccan was cast weighing 40 tons, and it was regarded as the world's heaviest gun. This gun is now to be found in Bijapur. Sabaji Koli was the Commander of his forces.

After him came his minor son, Murtuza Nizam Shah. His mother was the regent and ruled over the state in the name of her son for six years. This lady was a brave and shrewed lady. It was she who used to prepare the plans for military campaigns and used to lead the forces herself. This king executed a number of officers on suspicion that they conspired against him. One of the officers executed was the Commander-in-Chief, Chingiz Khan. But later on it was realised by him that they were blameless. He then held a Darbar to which he invited all the members of the nobility. He announced at this Darbar that he was not fit to be the king. He said that he, therefore, was retiring from kingship and asked the nobility to choose some one to carry on the administration and so appointed a Council of Ministers to attend to this need. It was Chand Bibi who as a member of the king's family, assumed the kingly authority. Her record of service to the state will always be written in letters of gold. Gifted with high statesmanship; she was a brave woman. Not only did she control the civil administration efficiently, but used to lead her armies in battles. In the history of India, her name will always be remembered with pride.

Qutub Shahi (Golkonda)

In the time of Subhan Quli Qutub Shah, Jagdev Rai was the Chief Minister, and Jagat Rai was the commander-in-chief. In the time of Ibrahim Qutub Shah, Jagdev Rai was the Chief Minister and Rai Rao, Deputy Minister, and these two divided between themselves the controlling authority in administration. During his reign, Elu Pandit was in charge of Finance. After Jagdev Rai, Murari Rao became the Chief Minister and he held very high power. In fact, he used to be given priority in the Darbar over the Princes. Surya Rao, Narsu Pandit, Kunwar Sen Chitnavis, Pratap Rai, Rhanmaji Chitnavis, Gopi Rao, Raju and Venkat Rao were some of those who held high positions in the state including those of generals and vazirs. The Portuguese writer, F. Souza speaks of the fraternal relations which subsisted between Hindus and Muslims in the State. The Muslims used to respect the religious feelings and susceptibilities of Hindus in a marked degree. During the reign of this king, Police administration was very efficient and there was perfect peace and order in the State. He constructed numerous tanks. The Hussain Sagar Tank of Hyderabad is one of them. During the time of Ibrahim Shah, Telengana was the centre of commerce. In the time of Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah, various schools and colleges were established, as well as, several feeding centres for the poor. In the time of Abul Hasan Tana Shah, the Chief Minister was a Brahmin and so powerful was this Chief Minister that the king was only a figurehead. Writes Manuji that during his days, Muslims had absolutely no voice in the administration, and all the positions were held by Hindus. It was at the instance of his

Brahmin Chief Minister that he had to come into conflict with the Moghuls and lose his state. This last king was affectionate to his minister all the same. The respect that every one showed to this Brahmin was so great that even the Commander-in-chief, Ibrahim Khalilullah, while proceeding to the battle had the following couplet engraved on his finger ring ;

“With the blessings of the king and the light of
the Pandit,

Went Ibrahim Khalilullah Khan at the head of
the Army ”.

THE FOURTEENTH DAY

As usual the friends assembled on Friday ; and Abdur Rahman began his discourse.

Gujerat

Abdur Rahman : Today I want to give you an account of the kingdom of Gujerat. This city was founded by Zafar Khan in 1391 after the death of Feroze Tughlak and lasted for 175 years. The foundations of this State were laid practically in the time of Fatahul Mulk who was the Governor of Gujerat just before Zafar Khan. This Governor was very friendly to Hindus. During his time, he constructed thousands of temples in the provinces. Zafar Khan who followed him as Governor did not belong to the class of the nobility. He rose from the common people, but he was a very intelligent person. It was by dint of sheer merit that he rose to this position. He made Gujerat independent of Delhi, and proclaimed himself as the king of the new State under the title of Muzaffar Shah. For 20 years, he reigned as King, and displayed courage and consummate statesmanship. After him came Ahmed Shah. This was a very brave king. It was in his time that Ahmedabad became a prosperous city. The city consisted of 360 suburbs, each enclosed by a strong wall. The roads of the city were so wide that 10 bullock carts could move abreast of each other either way. The king had to his credit many conquests. He was an able general. His son was married to the daughter of Raja of Mahim (Bombay). In those days, such marriages were common. The object was to strengthen social relations. Raja Savant Rai was the officer in command of the body-guard of the king which was composed entirely of Rajputs.

After Ahmed Shah, his eldest son Muhammad Shah became the king. He was so kind-hearted, and so just a king that he was known throughout the state as 'Karim' or 'the Benevolent'. But since he refused to wage war against the king of Malwa, the nobility of his court and the ministers joined together to dethrone him.

The appointment of Hindus to the post of Commander-in-chief was common in those days. In the time of Qutub Shah, the son of the dethroned king, Raja Ramchander was at the head of the State army. In the time of his successor, Mahmud Shah I, Gujerat became a very powerful state. Once the news came to the king that a Muslim nobleman had, in a moment of anger, killed a Hindu sepoy and that out of fear he had run away. The king deputed two of his ministers to capture him. But the ministers played a game. They persuaded a poor Muslim to own the responsibility for the murder, by giving him a large amount of money. They then presented him before the king as the real culprit, and suggested to him that Alaf Khan who had run away was not the murderer. The king ordered the execution of the man presented. When eventually he came to know of the truth and the two vazirs admitted their part in the game, the king wept bitterly over what had been done. He was averse to punish the two ministers, since they were very efficient men. But he said to himself that should he let them go without punishment, the administration of the State would become weak. He felt that justice must have its course and ordered that the two ministers should be executed. In this time, Gujerat became a naval power and Malik Ayaz was the Admiral of the Navy. The portuguese were greatly afraid of this Admiral.

There was a war with the Raja Bini Rai, and the Raja was wounded, and was brought before him. Mahmud Shah immediately arranged the dressing of his wound in his very presence, and when he began to talk to him, the Raja in a temper scolded him ; but the king did not feel hurt. On the other hand, he was pleased with the Raja's frankness, and ordered the officers of the court to take a very tender care of the wounded Raja.

Mahmud Shah founded a city called Mahmudabad and constructed a parapet wall round the city of Ahmedabad. The chronogram showing the date of its foundation ran :

"He who seeks refuge may safely enter its portals".

Commerce was plied from the ports of Gujerat. Once during the time of this king, the Turkish Navy came to the waters of Gujerat in the pursuit of the Portuguese navy. The Gujerat navy co-operated with the Turkish navy, and there was a naval battle in the harbour of Chawl, but owing to adverse winds the navies sustained defeat.

The reputation of the king as a just king had spread so wide in the land that Sikandar Lodi of Delhi not only recognised him as an independent king, but kept an Embassy at his court. Likewise, the Shah of Iran established an Embassy at Ahmedabad.

The king reigned for 35 years, and was succeeded by his son Muzafar Shah II. This king was like his father a brave and just king. He was a good calligraphist. He used to copy the Quran, and send the finished copies to Mecca and Madina. He was very learned, and invited scholars from abroad to come and settle down in Gujerat.

It was one of the kings of this line, Bahadur Shah, whom the Portuguese had invited to a conference on one of their ships and treacherously murdered and thrown him into the sea. It was this Bahadur Shah against whom Humayun had gone to war for having invaded the territory of his ally, Raja Sing of Chitoor, and whose Rani had declared Humayun as her brother, as narrated already.

After him, Mahmud Shah II became the king of Gujerat. This king was a justice-loving king, and was keen on spreading education in the State. He founded many charity houses. In the discharge of his daily routine duties, he was very punctual, and saw to it that others too were punctual. He constructed a huge park covering 14 square miles on the banks of a river near Surat.

In this line, there were fourteen kings of whom three ruled only for a few months. Of the remaining eleven kings, six were very powerful kings, who together reigned for nearly 150 years.

I have given you just a cursory account of the kings of Gujerat. In the days of these kings, Gujerat was the centre of learning and of commerce and industry. Many works of social welfare were undertaken during this period. The State had a net-work of fine roads. Many buildings were built and many colleges were started. The largest number of colleges were in Ahmedabad, and hundreds of teachers were engaged therein.

Malwa

Listen now to some account of Malwa also. You would have heard of Raja Bikramaditya and Raja Bhoj.

They were the kings of this place, and Ujjain was close by. Dilawar Shah was the governor of Malwa, and during the days of Toghlaqs, after the death of Feroze Shah, he declared himself independent of Delhi. After him, came his son Sultan Hoshang. This Hoshang is counted among the great kings of this State. One of the kings of this line, Sultan Mahmud, was a patron of learning. He spread education in the State, and established colleges in the different towns of Malwa; so much so, that professors employed therein at times entered into disputations with the renowned professors of Shiraz and Samarkhand. This king used to distribute free of cost grains among the poor people of the State. He constructed a great hospital and appointed the famous royal physician, Shaik Fazlullah, as its Physician-General. In this hospital, there were many wards, each assigned to a particular disease. There was separate arrangement for mental diseases. Separate kitchens were kept for Muslim and Hindu patients. He respected learning so much that when the famous scholar, Shaik Allauddin, came to see the king, the king came to receive him. When the king of Bokhara sent presents to him, he returned the compliments by sending to the king of Bokhara many valuable presents from India including many pieces of Muslim cloth of so fine a quality that the people of Bokhara were wonderstruck at the great skill displayed in the weaving of such a fine cloth. Among the presents sent, there was an Indian parrot which had been trained to speak in Persian.

The king was a highly cultured man and very learned and just. During his reign, the Hindus and Muslims lived a life of comfort and ease and in brotherly relations with other. In moments of leisure, the king

used to listen to the accounts of great kings of by-gone ages. He was a keen student of psychology and used to devote a considerable time in its pursuit. Whenever a trader or traveller was way-laid by robbers, he used to make enquiries and make good the loss by providing from the government treasury a sum equivalent to the value of the goods robbed. He would then charge the amount to the Police of the locality. Once a traveller was killed by a tiger. The king sent round a circular to all the Governors asking them to make every arrangement to see that no such incidents ever happened again in their jurisdiction and that they would be held personally responsible for a repetition of the incident.

After Mahmud Shah, came Sultan Giyasuddin as king. In his time, there was no revolt anywhere in the state, and only once was he obliged to lead a campaign against Malwa. The king was renowned for his piety. He was very regular in his prayers. The standing order was that if at the time of prayer, he should be found asleep, he should be awakened by sprinkling water over him. Indeed, this was done several times, and the king never felt annoyed on that account.

Ordinarily, he was a comfort-loving man ; but when a moment demanded action, he rose equal to the occasion. Once, Bahlol Lodi, the king of Delhi, attacked one of the forts, Ranthambhur. When the news came to the king, he at once organised a force and sent it to the place under the command of Sher Khan, the Governor of Chandra. The result was that Bahlol Lodi had to retire. This king ruled for 33 years.

The king had one peculiarity about him. He was fond of engaging beautiful women in handicraft of

diverse variety, and for that purpose used to send for beautiful women from far and wide. Some of these were trained in music and dance; some in the art of reciting the Quran, some in the art of fighting; and the largest number of them in one or other of the various handicrafts. In fact, his palace was a regular network of schools of training. The result was that a good number of these women distinguished themselves in their several lines, and were eventually engaged as teachers for those women-folk who chose to live in purdha. He had a regular Brigade of 5 hundred beautiful women dressed in the male garb and equipped with bows and arrows and other requisites of a fighter. This Brigade was called the Turkish Body-Guard. Likewise, another Brigade consisting of African women, and these were equipped with muzzle guns. In the fort, he used to supply every individual with two seers of grain and two copper coins. One day, the king noticed a rat roaming about in his palace. He searched for its hole and ordered that even like human individuals, this rat also should be provided with grain. In like manner, provision was made for parrots and doves living in the palace.

Shamshad: Indeed, this was a foolish king! What benefit did he dream to derive from all this?

Abdur Rahman: You have not understood him. His idea was to see that no one starved in his kingdom, nor even a rat, or dove, or a parrot, or any living object. It was an indirect direction to his governors and other officers that they should so administer the country that no one starved therein.

Once, to this king was brought a very pretty young dancer. The king, of course, was a lover of beauty.

He proposed to her, and on her consent, he married her. After a while, the parents of this young lady came and complained to the king that a certain person had kidnapped their daughter. Evidently the parents did not know what had happened. The king, at once, sent for the Qazi, and expressed to him that he had committed a crime, and asked him to follow the procedure laid down by law in respect of such crimes. 'My crime is indeed great,' he said; and expressed the opinion that he should be punished severely according to the nature of the crime. But when the parents of the lady were informed of what had happened, they were greatly frightened, and asked the Qazi not to punish the king. They were not aware of the fact that the king had married the girl. Indeed, he had done an honour to their family. But the king submitted to the Qazi: "In a country where the king is so negligent, what woeful crimes might not have been committed". He then explained to the Qazi that since he had married the girl without the permission of the parents, he was guilty of adultery, since such a marriage was no marriage in law. But the Qazi explained to him that since this was done in ignorance, the marriage that had taken place was valid. The king submitted to the judgement, but thereafter, he issued a standing order that no women was ever to be brought to him. The feeling of regret that he had taken advantage of a helpless women and married her without the consent of the parents, always troubled him, and eventually, he chose to retire from kingship by placing his eldest son on the throne. Could you find such an example from the history of another people?

In the time of his son, Sultan Nasiruddin, Basant Rai was the Chief Minister, and in the time of Sultan

Mahmud II, Medni Rai was the Chief Minister, and Salidan was the Commander-in-chief of the Rajput contingent. So great was the trust placed in Medni Rai, that the king entrusted to him full authority in many a matter. In fact, so much did he like the Hindus that the administration was entirely manned by the Hindus. The only places which the Muslims could occupy were posts connected with the household duties of the king. The special body-guard of the king also was composed of Rajputs.

Of the seven kings of the line of Malwa, four were renowned kings. The dynasty ruled for 125 years, out of which 95 years were covered by the rule of four great kings. In 1530 Bahadur Shah of Gujerat annexed Malwa to his State but when Gujerat fell before Akbar, Malwa also was annexed to the Moghul Empire.

Khandesh

Abdur Rahman : Now listen to the account of Khandesh.

A sepy, by name Malik Raja, was the founder of this State. His dynasty is called Faruqi. Malik Raja, Nasir Khan Faruqi, and Raja Ali Faruqi may be regarded as the great kings of this line. These kings effected considerable expansion in industry and in agriculture. Technicians were sent for from abroad and provided with sumptuous salaries. Their duty was to train people of the State in the arts and crafts in which they were experts. The students were trained free of cost. In fact, it was in this state that education was free. The poor among the students were provided with free clothing, food and books. Raja Ali Faruqi was a statesman and a man of extraordinary talents. Never in his life-time did he desire to annex the neighbouring

State, nor would he allow any neighbouring state to invade his territory. His time was divided between the care of the people entrusted to his charge, and discussions with the learned.

It was in the time of Nasir Khan Faruqi, the great scholar and saint, Shah Zainuddin, broke his journey at Khandesh. The king tried his best to entreat him to stay in Khandesh, but the saint did not agree. He was promised great jagirs, but the saint told him that things of that description had no attraction for him.

Bengal

A soldier of fortune, Fakruddin by name, founded the kingdom in Bengal in the time of Toghlaqs. This lasted till the time of Akbar, or for nearly 225 years. The line founded by him includes the names of several well-known kings who, in their times, made Bengal the home of learning, and the centre of trade and commerce. In their time, the difference between Hindu and Muslim had disappeared, so much so, that after Shamsuddin II, the Hindu and Muslim noblemen placed a Hindu vazir, Kanis, on the throne. Kanis ruled for 7 years after whom came his son, Jetmal. He assembled all his noblemen and Vazirs and expressed before them that he had decided to embrace Islam. He said that if his conversion in any way was a bar to the continuance of his kingship, he would descend from the throne. The entire gathering with one voice replied that his conversion would be no bar, and requested him to continue to be the king. They said that his conversion was his personal affair, and had nothing to do with the State administration. So Jetmal became a Muslim and assumed the name of Jalaluddin. He reigned for

17 years, and so just was he in his dealings with his people that he was hailed as the Naushirwan (the name of a famous king of Iran of Pre-Islamic days renowned for his high sense of justice). Fateh Purbi who came after him was also a great king. This king trusted Hindus so much that he had his body-guard composed entirely of Hindu sepoys. Bengal became more prosperous than ever before during his time. The story goes that people used to take their meals in plates of silver and of even gold. This king reigned for 27 years, loved by every one. He introduced a variety of reforms in the administration. It will surprise you to know that it was from his time onward that Bengali became a literary language.

Jaunpur

A governor of Jaunpur, by name Malik Sarver, declared himself independent of Delhi in the time of the Toghlaqs. The kingdom lasted for 100 years. But in the time of Sikandar Lodi, it was annexed back to the state of Delhi. When the torch of learning had been put out in Delhi consequent upon its devastation by Timur, it was in Bengal that it was lit up and where it shone brilliantly. The University established at Jaunpur had no like of it either in Hindustan or elsewhere. Thousands of students were educated free of cost, and many well-known professors were engaged in teaching there. Qazi Shihabuddin was the Principal of this Institution. The University was a Residential University. Some of the boarding houses attached then to the university are still in existence. In fact, two of the mosques constructed in those days are veritable pieces of art. There is a bridge here constructed in those times by Brindaban which still retains its beauty.

Its solidarity and strength cause wonder to the present-day engineers. Not a single stone out of this structure has been disturbed till today.

Ibrahim Shah Mashriqi, one of the famous kings of this line, reigned for 40 years. He was a man of learning and devoted a good portion of the revenue of the state on education and on scholarships to deserving students. Jaunpur produced many well-known writers. The story goes that in the heyday of Jaunpur, palanquins used to issue forth daily from its different quarters bringing to the University nearly 500 learned men. The most famous among them were Mulla Mahmud, Shams Bazgha and Mullah Jivan. Even till recently, there lived there a famous logician, Mawlana Hidayat Ullah Khan. Here dwelt many a sufi of high standing. The greatest Khanqah (abode of Sufis) of the East, Khanqah-i-Rashida, was located here. The famous sufi, Hazrat Diwan Shah Abdur Rashid belonged to a well-known sufi family. It was to this line that a great sufi of recent times, Mawlana Shah Abdul Alim Asi, belonged.

Multan

Even here, an independent kingdom was in existence for about one hundred years. Shaik Yusuf Hussain and Husain Labanga were two very intelligent and just kings of this State. A number of Colleges were established during their days, where renowned Professors used to teach. Husain Labanga sent for architects and experts in handicrafts from Gujerat asking them to bring with them plans of some of the more important buildings of Ahmedabad. Those who had gone to fetch these experts returned by themselves and reported

to the King that the entire treasury of Multan would not be enough to meet the cost of a single building of Ahmedabad. The king was very much grieved to know of this. He became very sad. His minister, Imadul-Mulk, sympathised with him and asked him not to grieve. Indeed, there were no buildings or gardens in Multan to compare with these in Gujerat; but he should be happy to feel that Multan was in no way inferior to any other state in the possession of men of learning and brave warriors. Among the great men of learning who lived in Multan, there were at the time Shaik Bahauddin Zakria, Shaik Yusuf Quraishi, Fathulla and Azizullah. In handicrafts and industry too, Multan was not behind another State. But the king developed a distaste for the mundane world and left the throne, and besought the company of scholars and Fakirs.

Kashmir

There was an independant kingdom here up to the time of Akbar. A sepoy by name Shaik Meer founded the kingdom. Allauddin, Qutbuddin, Sikandar, Zainul-abedin were some of the kings of this state. Kashmir was well-known for its buildings and gardens. The kings of this State constructed palatial buildings. In Srinagar, there was a twelve storied building, each story comprising of 50 rooms. There were a thousand towns and villages in the Valley. Everywhere one could see a fleet of boats in its river. When Sikandar became the king, he was just a minor. His mother acted for him for a considerable time, with Rai Mukri as chief Minister. Sikander spread education in the State and made his capital a rival of Khurasan. He appointed Saman Dev Bhatt as his chief Vazir. This

Vazir eventually became Muslim and began to harass the Hindus of the City and converted a number of their temples into mosques and stopped the custom of Sati. He levied the tax of Jazia; so much so, that a number of Brahmins left the State. Sikander prohibited the sale of wine in the State, and abolished customs duties. But when Sultan Zainul-abedin became the king, he set right all that Saman Dev Bhatt had done in his time. He deputed a special secretary, Shri Bahat, to meet the Hindus who had left the State and ask them to return to their homes. And when they returned, he had new houses constructed for them. He restored the temples to them, and reconstructed the temples destroyed and stopped the levy of Jazia. He tried to please them so much that in a short time all the sufferings which they had undergone in the time of Saman Dev Bhatt were forgotten. He stopped the slaughter of cows in the State. He constructed canals and codified the laws and regulations in force. He never inflicted the death penalty on any one. Robbers and dacoits captured in their crimes were put in chains and made to do manual labour for the State. It was not however a free labour. They were renumerated for the work they did every day. He wrote a number of books on music, and spent large sums on learned people. There used to be learned discussions at his Court on various subjects. Jasarat Ghaghar was his Commander-in-Chief.

In the days of the Muslim kings of Kashmir, usually the Hindus were appointed to the posts of ministers. The following are some of the names of those ministers.

Lata Raja, Ajit Dev, Parsaram Raja of Jammu, Ralga Rai, Nanak Chak, Yuli Gona and Vakna who

was prime minister under two reigns. A good many learned Pandits lived at the Court of Sultan Zainul-Abedin, Sri Bhatt was a talented physician. Boodi Bhatt wrote a book on music and dedicated it to the king. Soma Kashmiri was a great Sanskrit scholar at his court. He wrote a book dealing with the life of the king. Alongside of these Hindu Pandits, there were at the court a number of Muslim scholars. It was in the time of this king that a number of books in Arabic and Persian were translated into Hindi. A Persian translation of 'Raj Tarangni' a Sanskrit work on the history of Kashmir, was translated into Persian. Zainulabedin was himself a scholar of Sanskrit, and was conversant with several languages besides Sanskrit.

FIFTEENTH DAY

Mysore

The friends assembled on Friday, and spoke between themselves that for sometime they had not put any questions to Abdur Rahman. Abdur Rahman himself was rather surprised at their silence. He felt that probably his friends had grown tired of his discourses which were getting briefer. But this time the friends asked him on what subject he was going to speak on that day.

Abdur Rahman : Today I want to speak to you for the last time. Unless you have grown tired of my discourses I should like to speak to you in some detail of a person who may rightly be regarded as the first Nationalist of India.

Jawahar : Do nationalists also become kings?

Shamshad : Where was nationalism here in former times? That spirit has taken rise as the result of our contact with the British.

Abdur Rahman : You will see that Tipu was a great nationalist. He was the son of Hyder Ali who ruled over Mysore. Hyder Ali was a statesman, a good general and a shrewd judge of men. The father and the son had come to realise that the greatest enemies of India were the British. Their idea was that by pitting the Rajas and Nawabs against each other, the British could gradually capture their kingdoms, and they had now turned their attention to the south.

At the time, there were three great powers in the south : the Mahrattas, Hyder Ali and Nizam. The

policy of the British was to incite one against the other, and sometimes two of them against the third. The Nizam and the Mahrattas could not withstand the British machinations. But Hyder Ali knew their ways, and used to write to the Nizam and the Mahrattas that they should not be fooled by the British. It was only when he was attacked that he used to retaliate. He was very popular with the people of the State. He introduced a number of schemes of social welfare.

After his death, his son Tipu ascended the throne. He was the greatest nationalist of his time. His view was that unless the Indian States of the time joined their forces to drive the British out, they would one after another be gradually subdued, and then one never knew for how long the entire country would be under their subjection. Tipu was a brave man and at first dealt severe defeats on the British. At times, the British had to seek abjectly terms of peace. Within a brief span of time, he dealt severe blows to the following British Generals one after another:—1. Col. White, 2. Col. Bailey, 3. Coote, 4. Col. Campbell, 5. Col. Hambertson, 6. Col. Flerton, 7. Gen. Mcloed and 8. Gen. Mathews.

The British smarted under their defeats, and regarded the treaty of Manglore with Tipu as humiliating to the British. Tipu wrote to the Mahrattas and the Nizam several times asking them to join hands in driving out the British, but they did not pay any heed to his words. The British knew that the only stumbling block in their way to their sovereignty in India was this Tipu. If they could but destroy him, they could easily fight with the Nizam and the Mahrattas. When Tipu lost every hope of aid from the Nizam and the

Mahrattas, he made overtures to the French and started negotiations with Napoleon. The British grew alarmed at this development. They prevailed upon the Turkish Sultan to write a letter to Tipu asking him not to make friends with the French. The British knew that they could not fight by themselves or all alone. They managed to keep the Nizam and the Mahrattas on their side. Even then, they were not confident of success. So they resorted to under-hand tactics. They deputed Col. Reed to intrigue with the ministers and officers of Tipu. In this, they succeeded. Poorniah and Mir Sadiq, both Vazirs of the Sultan, and others proved traitors, with the result that in an unguarded moment, the British Army surrounded Seringapatam. A severe battle ensued. Tipu died fighting.

The English historian expresses his sense of relief over this victory by saying : " In the path of the English, Tipu was a mighty stumbling block ". This is true, because within three or four years of his removal, the entire India came within the grasp of the British :—

1799 Tipu died.

1800 Arcot, Tanjore and Oudh lost their independence.

1801 Nizam of Hyderabad lost his independence.

1802 The Mahrathas lost their independence. Col. Batison writes that with the fall of Srirangapatnam the Marathas cowed down

1803 Delhi came under their control ; hence, the whole of Northern India.

When he heard of the treachery of his officers, Tipu exclaimed " Well ! let the British occupy the State. Soon the children of the traitors will be reduced

to poverty. They will beg for a morsel of millet bread and a leaf of onion." Capt. Little in his book of travel writes ; " When we entered the territory of Tipu we found new towns which had come into existence due to progress in industry. The people were occupied in one avocation or other. No part of their territory had been left barren. Every inch of cultivable land was being cultivated. The whole aspect looked green. Not a single inch was left fallow. The people and the army loved their king ardently. Looking at the organisation of the army and at the ammunition provided to them, one can easily see that the army of this State is in no way inferior to any army in Europe."

And then Major Terror, Member of Parliament, writes in 'Empire in India' "Of all the States in India the State of Tipu seems to be the most prosperous State and her people the most happy". Tipu's popularity among the people of the State could be judged by a single incident. The Historian Sinclair writes that with the fall of Tipoo, the weavers of Sri-rangapatam came to the British Commander and told them that they might take away all the wealth which they possessed, if only they could leave the State to the family of Tipu. Sinclair observes that this was a positive proof of the great love which the people bore to the martyred king.

The first Swadeshi movement was started by Tipu. He never put on any foreign cloth and never ate any article of food brought in from outside of India. In his state, he boycotted the use of everything British and stopped transactions with them. His close relations with the Hindus could be gleaned from the letters and Firmans or the Royal orders issued to the Pujaris of

temples. There is a well-known pilgrimage centre of Hindus at Sri Nagri in Mysore. This is the headquarters of the sect of Sankaracharya. It was from this place that Sankara's message had issued forth and spread over the entire land. In the records of this temple are to be found even today three Firmans of Hyder Ali, and 30 letters and Firmans of Tipoo. In 1916 the archaeological department of Mysore issued a report in which there was a chapter on these letters and Firmans. I shall give you only a gist of this chapter.

The Guruji of Sri Nagri once wrote to the Sultan that the Mahratta army had looted the Mandir and removed the idol of Sada Devi, and thrown it out, and that the mandir had sustained a total loss of Rs. 60 lacs, and that the Mahrattas had taken away with them all the elephants and horses of the temple. In reply to this complaint of the Guru, Tipu Sultan wrote back to the Guruji in 1791. In that letter, the Sultan assured the Guruji that he would attend to this matter, and asked him not to worry over it for the moment, and to pray for him. In a subsequent letter the Guruji wrote to the Sultan informing him that the Maratthas had not only looted the property of the temple, but had entered the temple forcibly and handled roughly the Brahmins and the Pujaris inflicting on them severe wounds, and that the idol of the goddess could not be put in its proper place without the help of the Government. The Sultan replied to the Guruji in the following words :

“Those who show disrespect to the holy places or desecrate them — take my word, and this is my conviction—they will pay woefully even in this Kali Yug. People commit crimes smilingly, but they will pay for it weeping. To ill-treat Gurus is to extinguish one's own linear line”.

Mahendru Pratap : This letter seems to be a letter of a devout Hindu Prince.

Abdur Rahman : But this is the letter written by Tipu who was a devout Muslim.

Jawahar : I do not understand why this Tipu is presented in histories in such dark colours.

Abdur Rahman : This is because he was the greatest enemy of the English. The purpose of the English historians was to show to the Hindus that the British had done a great service to them by suppressing a bigotted Muslim.

Ahmed : What was then done by the Sultan to the temple?

Abdur Rahman : On receipt of the Guruji's first letter, the Sultan wrote to the Administrator of Nagar that he should immediately present to the Guruji for his immediate expenses 200 gold coins and grain worth another 200 gold coins, and that the proceeds of the Inam lands of the temple should be immediately collected and brought to the Guruji.

Ahmed : But this was a very small amount.

Abdur Rahman : The Sultan also wrote to the Administrator of Nagar to proceed straight to Sri Nagari and help the Guruji in every way. The Sultan wrote to the Guruji himself: "I have written to the Administrator to arrange, everything in accordance with your wishes, to feed on pooja days a thousand Brahmins, and pay them their usual monetary nazars". In another letter he wrote to the Guruji: "I have received Parshad and Shawl which you have kindly sent to me. I am sending herewith a Shawl for your personal use and the required robes for Sarda Devi". From another letter, it is revealed that the Sultan had sent a Palanquin for the goddess and

another for the Guruji. In yet another letter, it is written that the Sultan had stationed a guard of sepoys at the entrance of the Mandir to protect it from the raids of the Nasbadi tribe.

Mahendru Pratap : Abdur Rahman Saheb ! What is it we are listening to ? Can there be a closer relationship between the Hindus and Muslims than this ?

Shiv Pershad : Well ! We were accustomed to hear that the business of the Muslims was nothing but to pull down temples and kill Hindus.

Abdur Rahman : My dear friends ! the story is so long that I cannot go into more details. The things which I have narrated to you will not be found in the histories that you read in the schools. If these letters had not been preserved in the temple of Sri Nagari, we would not have known what had actually happened. The letters and Firmans issued to the various temples in India by Muslim rulers could not all be traced. Only a few have been brought to light. Even from the few which have been preserved, you can see for yourself that great jagirs had been granted for the upkeep of the Hindu temples and for the maintenance of their pujaris. The provision of monthly stipends to pujaris from the Government treasury were extras.

Tipoo Sultau granted 60 lacks of rupees to republish the property of the temple that had been looted by the Marathas. In almost every temple of Mysre, you will find golden or silver plates and jewels which Hyder Ali and Tipu were in the habit of presenting to the temples from time to time. For instance, in the temple of Melkot, you will see jewels and gold and silver and costly utensils presented by Tipu, as well as, the letters

which he sent to the Brahmins of the temple in connection with these presents.

Likewise, you will find in the temple of Laxmi Kantha in the village of Kalali (Nanjangarh Taluk) four silver cups and a silver tray and a few other things which Tipu Sultan had presented to this temple. So also there are in Narayanswami Temple similar things presented by him.

Jawaharlal : All this appears to me a dream, since the histories prescribed for us prepare us to look upon Muslims as tyrants.

Mahendru Pratap : Well, what is the way out.

Hayat : Well, so long as the Hindus and Muslims choose to remain foolish, there is no way out.

Shamshad : This country has been moulded only to let others rule over it. In the very atmosphere of it, there is disunity and mutual hatred. The friends present cried with one voice : "No' do not say that. We are today determined to attain swaraj."

Majid : Well ! The worship of the Englishman has reached its climax in our days.

Shamshad : (Rather in temper) Where is the question of worship of British here ? This is my definite opinion. In the first place, you will not have any Swaraj, and even if through Mahatma Gandhi you do have Swaraj, you will see that there will be an endless internecine warfare among us.

The party frowned at Shamshad over what he said ; and Hayat, as usual, began to cut jokes with him. But Jawahar and Mahendru Pratap remained silent.

Hayat : (Turning towards Jawahar and Mahendru Pratab)
You people have assumed so serious a silence that I fancy that you agree with Shamshad.

Jawahar : No, I do not agree with Shamshad. But what he says does deserve consideration.

Mahendru Pratab : I am also of the same thinking. From the hatred which the Hindus bear towards Muslims, the prospect seems to me rather fearful. You people tell me whether the Muslims feel likewise.

Hayat : You two gentlemen are great philosophers ! Your philosophy is disconcerting ! We will achieve Swaraj, and certainly we will ! May God keep Mahatma Gandhi safe !

Ahmed : The Muslims may not hate Hindus ; but the Hindus do look upon the Muslims with contempt.

Tasadduq : Well ! So far as the present moment goes, I do see that there is a reconciliation between the two. God willing, we shall triumph.

Abdul Rahman : That is why it is necessary to rewrite our History on right lines, so that the ill-feeling between the two communities might disappear. Well, I had not finished the story of Tipu.

The temple of Agruiwar in Malabar is an old famous temple. It is said that Vasudevji, father of Krishenji, having had a vision of Vishnu in his dream had constructed this temple for his worship. When Tipu Sultan conquered Malabar and was nearing Agruiwar, the Pujaries of the temple managed to shift the idol to Travanore. Tipu had camped within a few miles of this temple. But several Muslim sepoys who had already reached the place set fire to a portion of the temple.

The Officers of the army having come to know of this, came at once to the temple, and put the fire out, and sent the Pujaris of the temple to report the matter to the Sultan. The Sultan forthwith marched to Agruiwar, and noticed things for himself. He severely punished the sepoys concerned, and made immediate arrangements to repair the temple, and ordered that the revenue from the place, instead of being remitted to the State Treasury, should be paid direct to the Pujaris of the temple. He was rather angry with the Pujaris for having shifted the idol to Travancore. He told them that by so doing they had insulted him personally; and ordered them to go and fetch back the idol and restore it to the temple.

Ahmed : But what were Tipu's personal views on religion.

Abdul Rahman : He was a devout Muslim. He was regular in his daily prayers. He was not an irreligious man.

Ahmed : Then what he did to the temple at Agruiwar does credit to him.

Abdul Rahman : What all good he did in his days will form a very long story. He established a variety of industries in the state. In fact, he wanted his State to monopolise the trade of Basra. He looked forward to dig a canal to connect Basra with Euphrates, and thus expand India's trade with the Middle-East. Whatever his derams, let me now close this narrative by speaking of just one thing about him. Tipu whom the English historians have tried to hold up as a fanatic and a hater of the Hindus, will you believe me, used to spend a good sum annually on religious places. Look at the figures:—

Temples of Hindus.....	1,93,959	Pagados
Mutts of Brahmins.....	20, 000	„
The Mosques &		
Dargahs of Muslims.....	20, 000	„

Total : 2,33,959 Pagodas

These figures, be it remembered were given by no less a person than his Vazir Poorniah who had gone over to the British side and betrayed the country. He gave these figures himself before a Commission appointed by the British (Mysore Gazetteer P. 280).

A BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF THE HISTORY OF INDIA.

The Muslims made India their home and worked for its progress, standing shoulder to shoulder with the Hindus. Unfortunately, it is not possible to give a full picture of the services rendered by the Muslims to the country, or of the fraternal relations which subsisted between the two, or of the social conditions prevalent in medieval times as most of the material dealing with this is lost. The histories written by Iranians in Persian were interested chiefly in the battles waged by kings and their conquests, and hardly dealt with anything else. Only by the way, or casually, do these historians speak of the activities of kings outside of the battlefield; and even these casual notices, one has to pick out after a good deal of research in order to build up a picture of the times. For instance, I was once reading an account of a king in one of these works in Persian. It was not possible for me to know whether any Hindus held any high posts during this king's time. Only in the midst of an account of a battle, was it incidentally mentioned that certain officers of the state had revolted against the king, and that when the revolt was put down these officers were brought before him. Among them were there both Hindus and Muslims. From this single solitary reference, one has to gather that in the time of this king, Hindus too were occupying high posts. The historians of the times did not give particular attention to such things, because probably they were thought to be mere matters of routine. In the time of the Moghuls, this defect in writing history was to a certain extent removed. Akbar was lucky in having Abul Fazl at his court, but for whose graphic account of the social conditions of his times, even Akbar might likely have been relegated to the limbo of oblivion even as his predecessors.

So, if we have to get a picture of the past in proper form, we have to go beyond the histories of battles written by the Iranian courtiers of the times, although as has just been pointed out, stray glimpses may be caught of the type of the material needed even in their accounts. If we have to search for the requisite material, we will have to turn to the paintings of the times and to the lives of Hindu saints and Muslim fakirs, like Shri Ramanuja, Kabir, Nanak, Tulsidas and Chaitenya. Were that done, you will find in what manner the Hindus and Muslims lived together to constitute a united nation. The Ragas and the songs composed by the Hindus were sung by the Muslims and enjoyed. Indeed the sentiments and religious traditions of the Muslims very often form the subject of poetry by the Hindu poets and authors. The songs of Radha and Krishna were sung by the Muslims with the same enjoyment as the love episode of Leila and Majnu by the Hindu poets. The Hindustani speech itself was a standing proof of the close relations which subsisted between the two. Ibne Batuta writes that in this country, the Hindus and Muslims lived in fraternal relations with each other and that so close was the relationship that the kings themselves used to celebrate Holi and conform to several Hindu customs. The Hindus in their turn treated the celebration of Moharram as their own festival, and even like the Muslims, they used to observe mourning for the occasion. This you can see even today in certain parts of the country. The pity of it is that the very elements which went to bind the two communities together are now employed for promoting dissensions between the two.

The Hindus used to show great respect to the Hindu Yogis and the Hindus to the Muslim Fakirs. The Hindus used to present themselves at the tombs of Muslim saints and invoke their blessings. When Himu who was the

Vazir of the last king of Sur family of Delhi had to start on his campaign against Akbar, he made it a point to pay a visit to the tomb of Hazrat Qutbuddin Bhaktiar Khaki, the great Muslim saint, asking his spirit to pray for him. The name of Shivaji's father was Shahji after the name of a Muslim saint whose spiritual blessings had been sought for the birth of a male child in the family. When Hyder Ali used to go out on any campaign, he used to send for the Brahmin Pujaris and request them to pray in their temples for his victory. The title of Peshwa, which was devised for the Ministers of the Deccan Muslim Kings, was taken up by the Mahrattas. In Bengal, the names of innumerable Hindu families bear the stamp of Muslim influence. The names suggesting the positions which their forbears used to occupy in the states of Muslim kings, for instance, Tarfdar, Mahal Navis, Chitnavis, Mazumdar, Khastagir, Viswas, Nakhal Navis, Motamad Dar etc. In architecture, you will see a synthesis of the achievements of both. Taj Mahal is a standing monument of this fusion. The famous Bridge of Jaunpur speaks even today of the progress in architecture which the two had made in the past. The great Mosque of Ajmere, the Qutub Minar, and indeed the Jumma Masjid of Delhi express the grand blending that had been effected by their joint efforts. What better proof of fraternal relations between the two could be adduced than the provision by Muslim kings of valuable jagirs to temples and to their pujaris. In Sind 3 per cent of the revenue was always earmarked for the maintenance of the Brahmins of the State. The jagirs and Inam lands attached to the temples in the State of Hyderabad will bear out the same relationship. Extensive jagirs form endowments to temples, and their management is done under the State auspices. Numerous canals had been opened from the river Ganges at Rajmahal.

The idea was not only to expand trade and improve agriculture, but also to afford the use of the sacred waters of the Ganges by people living away from the main stream, as noted in the work of Bernier.

In the days of the Muslim rule, people lived healthy and happy lives. They did not put on dejected or worn out visage as at present. The Hindus and Muslims used to celebrate their festivals and their melas in a grand manner. Now a days, neither the Dasara nor any Muslim festival form the occasion for exuberant joy as in former times. Our ruin is marked in the poverty of our people and in our lack of enthusiasm in anything. The passivity and the timidity resulting from foreign domination are designated as peace and order, in the country. We have become lazy and inactive. Millions of our people today have forgotten the use of the sword or the gun. The Indians are now regarded as proverbial liars, and possess no sense of national self-respect. We have grown accustomed to disregard the interests of the country in the pursuit of trifling personal interests. Flattery passes for loyalty ; and falsehood for diplomacy. In this country, the speaking of truth has become as rare as the speaking of a lie in England. In the old days of our own rule, things were different. Personal rule has its own weaknesses and no one can deny that these weaknesses did not exist in the past. But the generality of people were accustomed to speak truth, were truly loyal to the State, and used really to show affection to their kings.

They were an industrious and hard working people ; and during hours of leisure used to engage themselves in out-door games. The nobility or the upper classes were fond of big games, and polo. The poorer classes engaged themselves in wrestling, lance-throwing and similar other out-door games.

Horse riding was common, as also, going on walks. Indeed, even kings used to recreate themselves by taking long walks. Once, Akbar covered on foot the distance between Agra and Ajmer. Babur was in the habit of swimming across huge rivers. Sikender Lodi, Balban, Qutbuddin Aibek were very fond of hunting. It is habits, such as these, of kings, which stimulated the urge among people to display bravery and to undergo physical hardships and cultivate manly virtues. People in former times, unlike those of the present day, were never easy-going. Flattery was no doubt practised in courts. But people in general were truth-loving and straightforward. Even in the last days of decadence and disorder in administration, the common man was essentially a lover of truth, so much so, Col. Sleeman writes that he did not find anywhere else so much of business morality as prevailed among the traders in India. The accounts kept by the traders were believed in business transactions with perfect confidence. Never were these records found wanting in any respect. In those days, merchants rarely turned bankrupt. Traders from foreign countries coming to India always spoke highly of the traders here. Whatever the weaknesses in the administration of Muslim kings, the character of the people was above reproach, and it is this quality which forms the criterion of a nation's stability.

Under Muslim kings there used to be councils composed of Muslims and Hindus. The post of chief minister, very often was held by Hindus. In fact, even in the time of Aurangzeb, regarded as a religious bigot, the Prime Minister of the Empire till 1673 was Rajah Raghunath. The Emperor has in numerous letters referred to the fine qualities of this minister. Under the Muslim rule, from the beginning right up to the end, innumerable Hindus were appointed as

governors and ministers. Tavernier writes that in addition to a number of Hindus having been appointed as governors, there was a Christian also, an Arminian Christian, as governor under him. Not merely in the State of Delhi but in the independent principalities of Kashmir, Deccan, Bengal and Malwa, the Prime Ministers were very often Hindus. In the time of Muhmmad Shah of Malwa, Medni Rai was the Prime Minister. So great was the power that he wielded in the state, that the wishes of the king at times could not prevail against his. Examples of this kind may be cited easily.

Every department had a minister and every province a governor who exercised magisterial powers also in addition to the administrative. But in the judiciary, the Muslim Qazi used to dispense justice to the Muslims in civil cases according to Muslim law, and the Hindu Pandits according to Sastras. In criminal cases, special judges were appointed at the centre, and in villages, the panchayats used to decide such cases. Appeals from the judicial officers lay with the qazi or the governor, and further appeals lay either with the chief judge or with the king himself. In dealing with justice, the element of mercy predominated. The death sentence was always subject to the sanction of the king. The King used to sit in the court every day for a specific number of hours. During those hours, every subject of the state was free to have direct access to him. Evidence was recorded in the proper form, and the judges endeavoured to the best of their ability to make thorough investigation into a case before judgement was pronounced. There was a standing order that judges and governors should not merely depend upon the evidence recorded in the open courts, but make every possible effort to see that no innocent man was made to suffer under the law. Even some of the powerful governors

were punished severely for dereliction of duty, or for causing an undeserved harm to any one in the state. It is recorded in history that the son of Sher Shah, the heir-apparent, had insulted an ordinary Hindu woman. The complaint was preferred before the king. The king sent for his daughter-in-law, and asked the husband of the Hindu woman to hurl an equal insult at his daughter-in-law for the wrong done to his wife. Numerous examples of this description are on record in which the princes had to pay penalty for their doings. This was the type of justice that was administered during the days of Muslim kings.

In matters of official preferment, considerations of caste or colour or religion did not count. Even the meanest of the subjects had the opportunity to rise to the highest post by dint of merit and character and loyalty to the state. The famous Rajahs Todarmal and Birbal and several others who became ministers were at first very ordinary people. Once a bigotted Muslim recommended to Aurangzeb to dismiss two non-Muslims and said that it was the commandment of God that Muslims should not make friends of those who were the enemies of God. Aurangzeb got wild at this, and replied that in worldly affairs this did not hold good. In administrative matters, religion was not a deciding factor. He said that the Quran had enjoined on the Prophet to tell the non-Muslims: "To you your way of life; to me mine". To the man who made the suggestion, he said: "Should I follow your advice, I should in the first instance dismiss all the Hindu Rajahs and Vazirs. In matters of administration, merit alone is the criterion of appointment and of holding office".

Roads and rest houses.

Throughout the country there was a net-work of roads. At every second mile, a rest house was constructed with the

necessary requisite comforts provided therein. The poorer section of the travellers were provided with free food without distinction of caste or religion. Brahmins were in attendance for the comfort of the Hindus. Outside of the Sarai, a mosque was constructed for the use of the Muslims, and the Hindus offered their prayers on the platforms attached to the well close by. The roads were lined with fruit trees for the use of the travellers.

Ibn Batuta who had come to India in the time of Muhammad Tughlaq in 1440 A.D. writes that he found the State studded with big cities and prosperous villages. The Postal system was efficient. A letter from Delhi used to reach Multan in five days. In Malabar, he found almost every inch of ground utilised for agriculture. Every one seemed to possess a piece of small garden with a cottage in the centre. From Delhi to Daulatabad was a journey of 40 days. The road was lined on either side by fruit trees and by sweet scenting creepers; and it appeared as though the traveller was passing through a garden. At every third mile, there was a postal station where one could get things needed on a journey; so much so, that the traveller used to feel that he was passing through a bazar. In this way, one could go to Malabar from the North. There was no need for the traveller to carry provisions with him. From Delhi to Surat, one could hire a carriage for a few rupees. If one cared to travel by a palanquin, the bearers used to charge per head 5 rupees per month.

The European travellers who visited India during the time of the Moghuls have expressed their delight over their journeys from Delhi to Agra. On either side of the road, stones were put up to enable the traveller in the night to keep to the track without being lost. Tavernier who came to India 200 years after Ibn Batuta in the time of Shah Jehan,

endorsed what Ibne Batuta had observed. He says that there was absolutely no necessity to carry any provisions whatsoever with one. At every turn, one could easily obtain the requisite food. Manuchi who came to India in the time of Aurangzeb says that in the rest houses there was accommodation for nearly a thousand people, as well as, for the horses and camels used by the travellers. It is pointed out that at the end of the 16th century the country had been provided with 2500 rest houses.

Hospitals.

Hospitals were provided in towns and villages where Hakims and Vydyas were in attendance. The diet for the inpatients was supplied by the State. In the time of Muhammad Tughlaq, Delhi alone had 70 hospitals and 1200 physicians were in attendance. In the time of Feroze Shah, there were 125 hospitals. The Central Hospital at Delhi had become famous throughout the State. There were separate wards both for the Hindus and the Muslims. The expenditure of this central hospital used to come to 26 lacs of tankas every year. Sultan Sikandar Lodi was a student of medicine. He had the famous work on medicine of Amar Gramha translated into Persian. Once he held a conference of physicians of Iran, Khurasan and Hindustan following both the Ayurvedic and Unani systems of medicine. He collected into a single volume important notes from all the extant works on medicine. This collection was called Tibb-e-Sikandari after his name, Sikandar. This work is still consulted by physicians in India. During the time of Jehangir, medicine formed a separate department by itself which continued to function even after Muhammad Shah.

Shah Jehan had a work on Veterinary medicine and surgery compiled. Mulla Abdul Hamid, the author of

Badshah Nama, writes that Shah Jehan appointed the famous physician of the times, Mir Hasham, as the Head Physician of the Central Hospital at Ahmedabad. Jehangir, in his own memoirs, writes that throughout the State, there were hospitals in charge of Hindu and Muslim physicians. The arrangement was that every patient after his recovery and convalescence was provided with the means of journey to his home town or village. Apart from the government hospitals, individuals from the class of nobility had constructed private hospitals for the use of the poor. For instance, an hospital founded by Khair Andesh Khan at Itawa was under the charge of highly renowned Vydyas and Hakims. The names of some of these famous Vydyas are Kunwal Pane, Sukhnand, Nainukh. The famous names of the Vydyas at the court of the Moghul rulers are Mahadev, Bhimsen, Nari Shivji and Surgeon Jag Jivan.

Colleges.

There were schools or colleges established in towns and important villages where education was imparted to the Muslims and Hindus. Education was a separate department of the State which disbursed salaries to the teachers, provided food and clothing to students, and in particular cases stipends also. Lower and higher education was afforded free of cost. In other words, no fee was charged to any one for the education imparted. The Universities of Benares, Jaunpur and Delhi were the leading centres of learning. The reputation of these universities had spread so widely that students from Iran, Afghanistan, Arabia, Turkistan, China, Japan and Tibet used to come to India to receive education at these places. Learned societies were in existence in those days composed of scholars and poets. Sometimes, the kings used to reward exceptional merits by weighing the scholar selected in gold, and by presenting

it to the scholar for his maintenance throughout his lifetime. Some of those so rewarded were Jaganath, Mahabat Rai, Bhakia, Bhansi, Hamur, the Surgeon. In addition to Government colleges, princes of the royal family and big noblemen used to maintain colleges and schools of their own.

Sikendar Lodi is accused for being a bigot. But it was he who having noticed that the Hindus could not compete with the Muslims in the administrative services, because of their ignorance of Persian, persuaded the educated Hindus to learn Persian as quickly as possible. So zealously did the Hindus take to Persian under his auspices that within a short time they became competent enough to teach Persian to Muslims. The well-known Pandit Dongarmall was counted among the leading poets in Persian.

In the time of Sikendar, flourished the great scholars Shaikh Abdullah, Shaikh Azizullah, Shaikh Muhammad Jaunpuri and Shaikh Al-Hudaiya Jaunpuri. The last mentioned scholar is the author of numerous works. He edited the famous work on law, the 'Hidaya', and wrote a commentary on 'Khafaa.' He edited also the Tafsir-i-Mubarak. The writer of the well-known Mehr-o-Mah, Sheikh Jamali, also flourished during his days. Sikandar himself was a poet of outstanding merit. He used to write under the pen-name of Gulrukhi, meaning the 'flower-faced,' and it so happened that he was gifted with a truly beautiful face. Sher Shah used to say that it was obligatory on a king that he should keep men of letters and the learned in religion above material want, whatever their creed, since they were the source of honour to the country. Sher Shah used to show the utmost respect to the well-known scholar of his day, Shaikh Budda. In fact, he once arranged his

shoes, so that he might wear them without any discomfort. It was to this king that the famous Hindi writer Muhammad Jayasi dedicated his immortal work, Padmath Bhaka. Mubarak Khilji rewarded Amir Khusraw lavishly for his famous Masnavi. So great was the estimation in which Amir Khusraw was held that in later days when Jehangir found that a few pages from his copy of Tuglaqnama written by Amir Khusraw were missing he invited the poets of his court to fill in the gap. The composition of Hayath Kashi was found to possess the highest merit, and the poet was weighed in gold and this was paid to him by way of reward. Such was the attachment to learning of these kings. Now, you can easily form an estimate of the advancement of education during those days. Education was not confined to men only. We come across names of numerous women scholars whose names are still cherished in learned circles. Many a princess of the royal family of the Moghul were scholars and poets, the most important of them being Salima Sultana Begum, Roshanara Begum, Zebunnisa Begum, Akbar Abadi Begum, Mahim Begum, Jehanara Begum, Arjumand Begum, Nurjehan Begum and Gulbadan Begum.

Articles of Food

In those days, the cost of living was within the means of the people. The prices at which articles of food were available were kept low. The result was that the people lived in comfort. Everyone was in a position to put by something. So low were the prices of the commodities in Bengal that a piece of cloth measuring 30 yards was available for one single rupee. She-buffaloes and cows used to give about 15 seers of milk. Everywhere Langarkhanas were provided where the poorer section of the population were freely fed at government cost. Wherever necessary, canals were dug to increase production.

Commerce and Industry

Industrial concerns flourished in the land. Hindustan was noted for the fine finish of the cloth produced therein. This was on demand even in distant countries. So fine was the cloth produced that a piece of 30 yards could easily be shoved into the shell of a cocoanut. One European traveller purchased an ounce of a particular variety of fine cotton thread for 22½ gold coins and presented it to the Queen of France who felt delighted to possess such a gift. Almost every town appeared to be a town of weavers only. So popular was this profession. The land was noted for its embroidery work and fine jewellery. Kashmir and Amritsar were noted for their beautiful shawls, and Banaras for its embroidery work.

This in brief is a bird's-eye view of the conditions of life prevalent in the time of the Muslim rulers of India. When in the rest of the world, man fought against man in the name of religion, India was the home of tolerance.

ERRATA

The printers regret that the following errors have occurred in printing:—

Page	Line	Read	For
5	15	Delete	Silently
10	6	of	ot
10	23	couplets	complets
10	29	line	lino
13	9	feet	feat
14	29	industrious	industious
18	26	doubt	doabt
20	21	spoil	spoilt
39	11	Rai	Bai
39	12	Rai	Bai
41	11	some	sone
41	13	member	number
46	20	Mulk	Mulkh
56	25	personal	personnel
57	10	there were	there
76	5	Toghlaknama	Toghlaknana
76	8	intellect	intellent
76	25	Batuta's	Baltuta's
77	5	physiognomy	physisgnomy
77	22	Sometimes	Sometime
77	29	chronological	chronologiene
81	16	his	this
87	15	entire	enter
88	14	might	right
90	3	advice	advise
90	10	ordains	ordians
92	17	matters	matteas
97	22	held	hold
97	22	Muslim and	Muslim
101	14	couplet	conflet
104	29	adopted	apopted
105	9	nation	notion

Page	Line	Read	For
106	11	foolish	feolish
110	31	wilfully	willfully
111	12	Finch	Fench
114	27	contented	contended
122	25	Shaesta	Sheishta
123	12	record	roecord
126	11	possession	possessions
131	10	enjoined	enjoyed
131	32	advice	advise
135	26	apparents	aparents
140	11	Shiah	Shih
163	17	severe	serve
163	22	Mcloed	Mcloed
165	20	Tipu	Tipoo
166	7	Tipu	Tipoo
168	25	Tipu Sultan	Tipoo Sultau
168	25	replenish	republish
171	19	form	from
171	25	dreams	derams
179	1	derelection	derelection
179	9	which	waich
183	7	of	fo
184	25	goods	good
185	19	Al-Hidaiya	Al-Hudiya

THE INDIA OF YESTERDAY

REFERENCES

PAGE	LINE	REFERENCE
First Day :		
8	29	Al-Beruni's "Kitab-ul-Hind" ,Chapter XI page 144.
9	18	Abul Fazal's "Ain-e-Akbari" Part I, pages 26, 72, 77 and 81.
15	3	Al-Beruni's "Kitab-ul-Hind" Chapter XVI.
Second Day :		
20	33	"Chach-Nama" (Printed by Latifi Press, Delhi 1939) pages 115 and 116.
21	11	"Chach-Nama" page 266 Balazri's "Futuh-ul-Buldan" page 440
21	17	"Chach-Nama" pages 199 and 200
23	2	"Chach-Nama" from page 210 to 214
25	74	"Chach-Nama" page 213
25	7	"Chach-Nama" page 213
30	4	Al-Beruni's "Kitab-ul-Hind" page 21 "Chachnama" page 236 (Khaksa was the cousin of Raja Dahir)
31	4	Mokar and Kaksas were brothers and related to Raja Dahir. For details, consult pages 133,

PAGE	LINE	REFERENCE
		135, 144, 149, 155, 157, 165, 166, 172, 180, 202, 205 and 214 of "Chach-Nama"
31	17	Balazri's "Futuh-ul-Buldani" page 440
35	4	Bishari-Muqadasi's "Ahsanul-Taqqeem-fi-Marfatul-Aqalim"

Third Day :

38	14	"Tuhfatul-Karam" page 110
38	30	"Aina Haqiqatnuma" page 167 and 184
39	1	Abul Fazal Behaqi page 503
39	6	"Tarikh-e-Hind, Qarun - i - Wusta" Vol. I Page 241
39	20	Aina-Haqiqat-numa page 197
39	31	Utbi's "Tarikh-e-Yamni" page 72 Syed Sulaiman Nadvi's "Arab-o-Hind-Ke-Taluqat" page 323
40	1	"Sabyatal-Aqalim" pages 57 and 58. It is a rare manuscript in the personal library of Nawab Habib-ur-Rehman Khan Sherwani of Aligarh.
40	10	Sulaiman Nadvi's "Arab-o-Hind Ke Taaluqat"
40	17	"Siyasat-nama" page 58
40	22	Mulla Abdul Qadir Badayuni's "Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh Vol. I page 20.
43	5	Allama Akbar Khan Najibabadi's "Aina Haqiqat Numa" Vol. I page 210.
44	2	Mir Wilayat Husain was the proctor in the hostel and a second master. He was a very popular figure.

PAGE	LINE	REFERENCE
------	------	-----------

Fourth Day :

- | | | |
|----|----|---|
| 45 | 14 | This seems to be a mere tale and is not supported by any historical proof. The point has been fully discussed by Qazi Bashiruddin Pandit in his book "Tarikh-e-Hind, Qurun-e-Wusta" Vol. II pages 165 and 171 |
| 46 | 8 | His generosity is well supported by the title "Lakh-Baksh" (Giver of Millions) given to him by the people. For details, see Tabqat-e-Nasiri Vol. I page 298. |
| 46 | 24 | "Fatah-ul-Salatin" page 122 |
| 47 | 13 | "Fawaed-ul-Salikeen" page 19 |
| 48 | 26 | Qazi Bashir's "Tarikh-Qarun-Wusta" Vol. II pages 253 and 254. |
| 49 | 28 | Minhajuddin bin Sirajuddin, the {author of "Tabquate-Nasiri", has given this anecdote in poetic form on page 319 of his work. |
| 50 | 10 | "Tabqat-e-Nasiri" page 37 |
| 50 | 22 | "Tarikh-Farishta" page 71 |
| 51 | 15 | For details consult "Tabqat-e-Nasiri" and Barni's "Tarikh Feroz Shahi" |
| 51 | 23 | Shibli Nomani's "Sherul-Ajm" Vol. II page 101 |
| 51 | 28 | "Tarikh Feroz Shahi" page 41 to 103 |
| 52 | 24 | Barni "Tarikh Feroz Shahi" pages 39 to 41 |
| 53 | 2 | Barni "Tarikh Feroz Shahi" pages 40 to 41 |
| 53 | 5 | Barni "Tarikh Feroz Shahi" pages 41 to 44 |
| 53 | 15 | Barni "Tarikh Feroz Shahi" pages 95 to 106 |

PAGE	LINE	REFERENCE
53	27	Barni "Tarikh Feroz Shahi" page 95 The name of Qutbuddin Bakhtiar Kaki has wrongly been included.

Fifth Day :

58	22	The nobleman was the nephew of Balban and named Kushli Khan alias Malik Chajju. For details, see "Tarikh Feroz Shahi" page 182.
59	24	For details see "Tarikh Feroz Shahi" pages 184 to 186.
60	5	"Tabqat-e-Akbari" page 118 and "Tarikh- Farishta" page 89
60	15	-do- -do-
60	30	Barni "Tarikh Feroz Shahi" page 188
61	15	-do- pages 208 to 212
62	4	-do- pages 213 to 218
62	27	"Tarikh Hind Qurun Wusta" Vol. 11 Pages 339 to 343
63	27	Barni "Tarikh Feroz Shahi" page 196
64	9	This incident is included in Tarikh Hind Qurun Wusta" on pages 228 and 229. The king not only pardoned but appointed him "Vakeel-i-Dar. He was killed at Karama- nikpur while defending the king, his master.

Sixth Day :

67	18	"Tarikh Feroz Shahi" page 318. The officer in-charge of the control department
----	----	---

PAGE	LINE	REFERENCE
		was Yakub Nazir. He was a very honest and strict person.
68	2	For details, see "Tarikh Hind Qurun Wusta" Vol. II page 368 to 397.
68	26	"Tarikh Feroz Shahi" pages 289 to 296
68	31	The facts are contrary to this statement. For details, see "Revenue System" Vol. II Chapter VI by Dr. Ram P. Tripathy and Tarikh Hind Qurun Wusta Vol. II pages 379 to 381.
70	25	"Tarikh Hind Qurun Wusta" Vol. II Page 371.
72	7	In his book "Tarikh Feroz Shahi", Ziauddin Barni has included a long list of scholars and learned men of Allauddin's Court consisting of 27 pages. Pages 341 to 367.
74	6	Ghazi Baig Tughlak was not the Governor of Lahore, but was of Dibalpur.

Seventh Day

76	14	"Tarikh Feroz Shahi" page 452.
76	25	Research has proved this charge on Muhammad Tughlaq as false.
77	1	Fazal-ullah's "Masalik" translated by Dr. Espirze, pages 24 and 33.
77	13	Zaka-ullah Dehlavi's "Tarikh Hind" Vol. II pages 108 to 110 and 146, and "Masalik" page 32.

PAGE	LINE	REFERENCE
77	20	In "Administration of Delhi Empire", Dr. Qureshi has described the educational progress in detail.
78	11	"Tarikh Hind" Vol. II page 155.
78	17	Fazal-ullah in his "Masalik" has dwelt at length on the king's generosity.
78	21	"Tarikh Feroz Shahi" page 483 and "Afif" page 92.
79	4	See the "Safarnamas" of Ibne-Batuta, Barni and Afif.
82	2	"Tarikh Feroz Shahi" pages 562 to 565
82	10	Shams Siraj Afif's "Tarikh Feroz Shahi" page 295
83	6	Cambridge "History of India" Vol. III pages 189 and Afif's "Tarikh Feroz Shahi" page 189.
83	14	-do- page 282
85	23	Schedule of rates of different periods have been preserved in the work of Barni, Fazal-ullah and Batuta etc.
86	14	"Mirat-e-Sikandri" pages 10 and 11. Tarikh-e-Farishta Vol. II page 179 and Cambridge "History of India" page 192.

Eighth Day :

87	20	To know the full details, one must read "Tarikh Mubarak Shahi"
88	18	Abrar Husain's "Muraqa-e-Afghan" pages 25, 26 and 49, manuscript of "Tarikh Daudi"

PAGE	LINE	REFERENCE
		page 7. (It is kept in Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna)
88	27	"Muraqa-e-Afghan" page 39, Tarikh Farish-ta Vol. II page 140 and "Tarikh Daudi" page 11.
89	6	"Muraqa-e-Afghan" pages 38 and 39. Tarikh Daudi pages 10 and 11.
89	16	"Tarikh Farishta" Vol. II page 159.
89	18	Sikander Lodi is famous for his justice. See "Tarikh Daudi" pages 40, 41 and 63 to 66.
89	26	"Tarikh Daudi" page 37 and "Muntakhab-ul-Tarikh" Vol. I page 333.
90	14	"Tarikh Daudi" page 28.
90	16	"Muntakhabul Tarikh" Vol. 1 page 333 and "Tarikh Daudi" page 37.
90	23	-do- -do-
91	4	"Tarikh Daudi" page 39 and "Muraqa-e-Afghan" page 101.
91	13	Tarikh Farishta Vol. II pages 137, 150, 145, 150.
91	18	"Tarikh Daudi" page 90 and "Muraqa-e-Afghan" page 161.

Ninth Day :

97	12	Abbas Sherwani's "Tarikh Sher Shahi" page 29, Eliot's Vol. IV page 314, Kanungo's "Sher Shah" pages 16 to 18.
----	----	---

PAGE	LINE	REFERENCE
97	19	"Tarikh Sher Shahi" pages 29 to 34, Kanungo's "Sher Shah" page 12 to 24 and 373 to 38.
97	21	Kanungo's "Sher Shah" pages 409 to 411.
98	14	-do- pages 395 to 399.
99	18	-do- pages 412 to 415.
100	25	See footnote of page 391 of Kanungo's "Sher Shah"
101	32	Dr. Ashirvadi Lal's "The Mughal Empire" page 102 and "Muntakhabul-Tawarikh" Vol. 1 page 387.

Tenth Day :

103	26	"Ain-e-Akbari" Vol. I page 104 to 106. Iqbal-Nama Vol. V page 989 (By M. Zakarullah Dehlavi)
107	41	"Tuzak Jehangiri" pages 175, 176, 279 and 280 and Bakhshi's Iqbal-Nama Jehangiri, translated by M. Zakaria page 89.
107	12	"Jehangir" By Blochman page 331
107	14	"Jehangir" by Rodgers and Beveridge pages 1, 262, 263, and 265.
107	23	-do- pages 301-302.
107	28	-do- pages 110 to 117 and "Jehangir" by Doctor Beni Pershad 1922 edition.
107	37	Hawkin's "Travel-log", pages 400-401
108	4	Jehangir by Rodgers and Beveridge pages 389

PAGE	LINE	REFERENCE
		and 390. Beni Pershad's "Jehangir". Pages 115 to 118.
109	17	Smith's "History of India" pages 377 to 378.
110	7	"Tuzak-i-Jehangir" pages 9 and 10 (Aligarh)
110	17	"Tuz ak-i-Jehangir" page 130 and Bakshi's "Iqbal-Nama Jehangiri. Page 3. After Man Singh's demise, Jehangir patronised his son Maha Singh generously.
111	19	"Bharat Ka Bishist Itehas" by Prof. Netar Pandey pages 532 to 536 and History of Jehangir by Dr. Bevidl page 165 and 166.
112	28	Dr. Beni Parsad has refuted this "History of Jehangir" pages 171 to 186. See also Dr. Ashirvadi Lal's "The Mughal Empire" page 254 to 257 and "Bharat ka Bishist Itehas" pages 541 to 542.
Eleventh Day :		
116	26	Shibli Numani in his "Aurangzeb Alamgir Par ek Nazar".
117	10	"Tarikh-e-Hindustan" Vol. VI pages 493 to 500 by Zakaullah.
117	19	"Badshah Nama Alamgiri" pages 375 and 376 and "Aurangzeb Alamgir par ek Nazar" pages 8 to 16.
118	9	Many such letters are included in "Rukkat-e- Alamgiri"
119	23	"Badshah-Nama Alamgiri" pages 463 to 485.

PAGE	LINE	REFERENCE
		"Hamid-uddin's "Ahkam-i-Alamgiri" No. 8 pages 13 to 15, No. 39 page 49 and No. 70 page 81.
122	30	This fact is borne out by many historians. In "Maasirul-Umara" and Shibli's "Aurangzeb" authentic details are provided.
123	5	-do-
123	27	"Maasir-e-Alamgiri" page 433.
124	5	"Maasirul-Umara" Vol. II page 351.
124	20	"Muntakhabul-lubab" pages 213 and 214 Shibli's "Aurangzeb" pages 25 to 32.
124	33	"Maasir-e-Alamgiri" page 81.
125	30	Shibli's "Aurangzeb" pages 57 to 62.
126	16	M. Bashiruddin Dehlavi's "Firameen-e-Salatin" pages 41 to 59 and 60.
126	28	Such examples are numerous. "Muraqa-e-Banaras" by Ch. Nabijan page 154. Faramin-e-Salatin" page 60. "Holy City Banaras" by Rayani Rayan Sen. Firmans carrying such orders were shown to Dr. Syed Mahmud and Pandit Sunderlal at Wardha Ashram by the priest of Thakurji Mandir of Ujjain in the year 1945. Two boxes full of such firmans had been brought by the priest.
128	1	Kamaluddin Haider's "Tarikh Oudh" Vol. I pages 61 to 65.

PAGE	LINE	REFERENCE	
128	3	Kamaluddin Haider's "Tarikh Oudh" Vol. I page 47	
128	7	-do-	-do- pages 98, 114 and 119.
Twelfth Day :			
131	29	Mulla Qasim has given the name as "Ku- mubh Dev". Tarikh Farishta, page 294.	
132	7	"Tarikh Farishta" pages 294 and 295 and the name of the saint was "Zainuddin".	
132	21	-do-	page 301.
132	28	}	-do- page 302.
133	14		
133	18		
134	17	"Tarikh Farishta" and the name of the saint was Zainuddin. page 308.	
135	5	-do-	page 316.
135	24	According to Farishta, this honour was accorded to the son of Raja Dev Rai. "Tarikh Farishta" page 322.	
135	29	"Tarikh Farishta" page 322.	
136	34	-do-	page 338.
137	10	-do-	page 332.
137	32	-do-	page 347.
139	14	-do-	page 358.

PAGE	LINE	REFERENCE
Thirteenth Day :		
140	5	"Tarikh Farishta" Vol. III pages 1 to 14.
141	21	-do- page 16.
142	4	-do- page 27.
142	14	-do- page 36.
143	16	-do- pages 100 and 101.
143	20	-do- pages 102 to 120.
144	34	-do- pages 152 to 164.
146	2	Khafi Khan Vol. II page 302.
146	7	Maasirul-Umara Vol. III pages 627 to 629.
Fourteenth Day :		
147	19	Two of Muzaffar Shah's powerful "Sirdars" Jeerand and Boag. Both were Hindus. "Tarikh Farishta" pages 182 and 183.
147	27	"Tarikh Farishta" Vol. III pages 182 and 183.
148	31	-do- Vol. IV page 196.
149	14	-do- -do- page 202.
149	28	-do- -do- page 205.
150	4 }	-do- -do- pages 224
150	16 }	-do- -do- and 228
152	13	-do- Vol. V pages 243 to 255.
154	31	"Tarikh Farishta" Vol. V pages 255 to 258.
157	7	-do- Vol. VII page 299.
157	10	-do- -do- page 301.
157	27	-do- -do- page 302.
159	17	-do- Vol. IX pages 327 and 328.
159	32	-do- Vol. X page 341.
160	9	-do- -do- pages 342 to 347.

Fifteenth Day :

- | | | |
|-----|----|---|
| 162 | 12 | On 1st November 1956, ex-Chief Minister of Mysore Sri K. Hanumantayya, inaugurating the new province of Mysore, stated :—
“This is clear from Sultani Firmans that Tippu had two aims before him. One, to ward off English influence from Mysore and the other to run the government on democratic lines as nearly as possible. He often signed the official paper as Citizen Tippu. When after 150 years, The Indian National Congress achieved freedom, it was merely the fulfilment of Tippu’s dream. He had not hesitated to sacrifice his life for its sake.” |
| 163 | 29 | “Tarikh - e - Saltanat - e - Khudadad Mysore” page 378. |
| 164 | 5 | “Karnama-e-Hyderi” pages 976 to 986. |
| 165 | 2 | “Tarikh-e-Saltanat-e-Khudadad Mysore” by Mahmud Banglori. |
| 165 | 29 | —do— page 469. |
| 165 | 31 | “Makateeb Sultani” pages 157, 153 and 205. |
| 166 | 10 | “Tarikh-e-Saltanat-e-Khudadad Mysore” pages 519 to 530. |
| 168 | 31 | “Mysore Archeological Report of 1917 page 21. |
| 169 | 6 | —do— page 59. |
| 171 | 13 | Mahatma Gandhi had narrated this event at length in one of the issues of <i>Young India</i> . |

PAGE	LINE	REFERENCE
171	21	Shyam Rao's "Modern Mysore" , pages 242, 254, 311.
171	24	"Tarikh-e-Saltanat-e-Khudadad Mysore" page 547 and "Makateeb Sultani" pages 153 and 157.

A Bird's-Eye view :

175	10	"Tarikh-e-Saltanat-e-Khudadad Mysore"
177	4	"The Mughal Empire" page 144
177	5	"Tuzak-e-Babari" page 347. Babar crossed the river Ganges near Banaras in only 33 strokes.
177	30	"The Mughal Empire" page 495.
178	4	Smith's "History of India" page 397.
179	8	"The Mughal Empire" page 112.
181	9	The details are given in "Tuzak-e-Jahan-giri" ,and Khafi Khan Vol. I pages 102 and 298.
181	26	"Muraqa-e-Afghan" page 83.
183	26	"Muntakhabul-Tawarikh" Vol. I page 333.

**TRANSLATED COPY OF THE LAST WILL OF ZAHIRUDDIN
MOHAMMAD GHAZI OF 933 HIJRI ISLAMIC YEAR.**

SEAL OF BABAR

**SECRET "Will" of Zahiruddin Muhammad Babar Ghazi
executed in favour of Prince Humayun—(Long may his life
be!)**

This is laid down for strengthening the empire !

O son, in the continent of India, people of diverse religions live. Thanks be to God who has given the kingship of this country to thee ! It is for thee to keep thy heart free from religious bias and to render justice unto the followers of every religion and creed. To everyone render justice in keeping with his religion. Particularly abstain from the slaughter of cows and it be the reason for the conquest of Indian hearts. Let gratitude make the people of the country bear goodwill to the king. Never let the temples and places of worship of all the people which lie in thy dominion be spoilt, and in these matters always be just, so that the king be happy and satisfied with the people and the people with the king. The advancement of Islam is better with the sword of gratitude than with the sword of oppression. Thou must stop the conflict between Shias and Sunnis. In the conflict lies that weakness which is injurious to Islam. Treat the people of thy empire like the four elements, so that the body of the empire may defend itself against diseases. And lastly, always remember the achievements of Hazrat Taimur Saheb-e-Quran.

लाल बहादुर शास्त्री राष्ट्रीय प्रशासन अकादमी, पुस्तकालय
Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration Library

मुससूरी
MUSSOORIE

यह पुस्तक निम्नांकित तारीख तक वापिस करनी है ।
This book is to be returned on the date last stamped.

दिनांक Date	उधारकर्ता की संख्या Borrower's No.	दिनांक Date	उधारकर्ता की संख्या Borrower's No.

MAH



116480
RSNAA

954.04
Mah

अवाप्ति संख्या

Acc No. 3735

वर्ग संख्या

Class No. _____

पुस्तक संख्या

Book No. _____

लेखक

Author Mahmud, Syed

शीर्षक

Title The India of Yesterday

954.04
Mah

~~3735~~

LIBRARY
LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI
National Academy of Administration
MUSSOORIE

Accession No. 116460

1. Books are issued for 15 days only but may have to be recalled earlier if urgently required.
2. An over-due charge of 25 Paise per day per volume will be charged.
3. Books may be renewed on request, at the discretion of the Librarian.
4. Periodicals, Rare and Reference books may not be issued and may be consulted only in the Library.
5. Books lost, defaced or injured in any way shall have to be replaced or its double price shall be paid by the borrower.